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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY

Formal and Informal Social Relations in the Context of the Inland Fur Trade

BY

J. SCOTT HAMILTON

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
OF THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS

DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

FALL 1985

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FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled The Social Organization of the Hudson's Bay Company: Formal and Informal Social Relations in the Context of the Inland Fur Trade, submitted by J. Scott Hamilton, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

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(Supervisor)

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Date: August 22, 1985

ABSTRACT

In the course of its long history, the Hudson's Bay Company employed large numbers of men to operate its trade posts throughout northern North America. During much of its early existence, this work force was organized and managed using a structure that can be characterized as a pyramidal hierarchy with a concentration of authority and status at the apex. However, with the expansion inland, this formal hierarchy developed a certain measure of flexibility in order to accomodate situations that were the product of the nature of the inland trade.

The nature of this formal hierarchy and the informal accomodations developed in the inland are discussed in the context of the Hudson's Bay Company trade posts along the Assiniboine and Red Rivers between 1793 and 1821. Of particular interest are the issues of internal upward mobility, the enhanced power and status of the highly experienced senior labourers, the chronic shortages of employees due to European warfare, and the informal benefits gained by all labourers as part of their strong bargaining position.

With the development of new management techniques in the 1810's as part of the experience of the British Industrial Revolution, new pressures were brought to bear that had profound effects upon the lot of officers and labourers alike. These new management techniques are discussed in light of the effect upon the employees of labourer diversification schemes, piece work, profit sharing, wage rollbacks, new accounting procedures, and the development of the Selkirk Settlement.

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The Hudson's Bay Company Archives of the Public Archives of Manitoba, and the Archives of the Glenbow Alberta Institute provided access to the collections consulted in the preparation of the study. The assistance and helpful comments of Mrs Shirlee Smith and the staff of the Hudson's Bay Company Archives were particularly helpful.

My interest in the Souris Mouth Forts is multi-faceted. While this volume deals only with the social history of Brandon House, I must acknowledge the individuals and institutions who have made the archaeological investigations at this post particularly stimulating for me. The Manitoba Historic Resources Branch has funded archaeological investigations in the area for the past five years, and while little archaeological data is herein considered, the opportunity to work at the sites has greatly sensitized me to the nature of life and work at a fur trade post in the 18th century. The discussions with and feed back from David Hems was particularly valuable.

The encouragement, hospitality and assistance of Morley and Alice Brown of Treesbank, Manitoba in pointing out site locations and in

providing stimulating comments is also gratefully acknowledged. The kindness and hospitality of Terry and Jane Gibson is also remembered with much warmth and gratitude. Terry also took time from his own busy schedule to run the final draft of this thesis through the difficult administrative channels of the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research on my behalf as I was living and working over 2000 km. away from Edmonton at the time.

Finally, in the course of carrying out the research in the preparation of this study, I have developed a great sympathy, admiration and respect for the men and women whose struggles, small victories, hopes, and dreams provided the data base for this perspective of the Canadian fur trade experience. These people are long dead, and are, by and large, forgotten minor figures in Canada's history. However their collective role in the social process of the fur trade was extraordinary, and this study is dedicated to the memory of their lives in Rupert's land.

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

This thesis addresses the social history of the Hudson's Bay Company. It considers the structure of social relations among European officers and servants, Natives, and people of mixed ancestry who were employed by, or dependents of, the Company during the late 18th and early 19th centuries within the Assiniboine and Red River basins. This study of the social relationships among employees documents the formal hierarchical structure of the Hudson's Bay Company, and illustrates the informal arrangements that occurred at one series of inland posts. These informal arrangements reflect the influence of a number of factors that include the changing context of the fur and provision trade, competition, organizational and administrative changes within the company, and the development of an agricultural base in the area. Also of importance will be the effect of social and political conditions in Europe. The influence of these factors will be considered in a diachronic framework.

This study of the relationships among individuals brought together by the organizational structure of their employer is at the same time a reflection of "work" and "non-work" relationships as fur trade posts must be considered as commercial, industrial and residential establishments coincidentally. However, by the nature of the data-base rooted in the business records of the Hudson's Bay Company, emphasis must be placed on the work-related relationships. Despite this bias, when information is available, the non-work relationships will be

scrutinized.

PRE-INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION BRITISH SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The organizational structure of the Hudson's Bay Company, at its inception in 1670, likely was based upon existing patterns of social organization in 17th century Great Britain. This pre-industrial revolution British social structure has been described by Laslett (1971) as being rooted in the "household" basis of social organization that pervaded all 17th century life. That is, the majority of organizational institutions were structured upon a hierarchy of control, deference, and decision-making modelled upon the patriarchical household with all authority and responsibility ultimately resting with one senior male individual. This organizational structure formed the basis of: family businesses, each composed of a master artisan, his wife and children, apprentices and servants; rural agricultural establishments with their family heads, immediate family and servants; the manor house with its gentleman-owner, family, household servants and tenants; the political structure of the nobility, and even the army and navy (Laslett 1971).

Laslett (1971:10) comments that, ideally, this organizational structure provided for a series of interrelated cohesive social units that made master-servant relationships analogous to family relationships. Conflict between "family and household" members was personal and not collective. It was a clash of individual will. Adherence to authority was not only related to this sense of "fictive kin", but it also involved one's "sacred duty" as a Christian (Laslett 1971:186). Access to power was through inherited status, financial weight, and position as a householder, landowner, or family head.

This hierarchical social structure permitted some measure of flexibility or mobility primarily through success or failure in the acquisition of wealth and through marriage. By this means, well-to-do yeomen (or the sons thereof) could rise into the lower ranks of the gentlemen class, while the younger children of the petty gentry could decline in status into the common class (Laslett 1971:195-196).

THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE

The Hudson's Bay Company was organized with ultimate authority resting with the London Governor and Committee composed of key shareholders. These individuals delegated authority to the senior officers who directed the affairs of large regions in Rupert's land from key forts or factories along the shores of Hudson Bay. After the move inland in the late 1700's, these senior officers delegated authority to post masters or inland traders who performed the leadership role within the regions controlled by their individual posts. Within the individual posts, this formal hierarchical structure can be visualized as a pyramid with the Inland Master or Trader at the apex, the junior officers, assistants and clerks in the middle levels, skilled tradesmen below the officers, and a range of skilled and unskilled labourers at the bottom (Foster 1973, 1975) (Figure 1). Foster (1973:257) also maintains that this formal work-related hierarchy was supplemented by informal ranking mechanisms characterized by criteria that measured one's "male worth", Country (1) and European skills, and by kin connections within and between posts. It is this local level of organization that is the primary focus of the following research.

The formal hierarchy of company employees was established and

developed as a means of effectively delegating authority and managing labor input in order to achieve the maximum economic output. In this sense, the militaristic hierarchical character (Brown 1980:10-11) of the Hudson's Bay Company system would have been seen as an effective means of achieving these objectives in the context of a male-dominated economic institution. However, as Foster (1973) suggests, living and working in Subarctic North America in relative isolation in an uncertain social and physical environment for long periods of time probably resulted in a certain measure of flexibility in the detail of the social structure. The social and spatial isolation of the forts reinforced the coincidence of work place and living place that characterized the British organizational prototypes. They were quite literally the centre of all European social activity surrounded by a relatively unknown, potentially hostile physical and social environment. The following discussion will address itself primarily to the nature and causes of this flexibility in light of such factors as:

1) the common employees' attempts (both individual and collective) to enhance or protect their positions in light of trade competition, Indian warfare, ration allocation, wages and contract length;

2) the upward mobility of company employees;

3) the effect of changing economic orientations in the fur trade as well as new means of labour management that were the product of the industrial revolution;

4) the nature and practical limits of this hierarchy in terms of the informal benefits associated with rank and its effect on work efficiency;

5) the establishment of trade, friendship and marriage alliance bonds between individual Europeans, Indians and people of mixed ancestry;

6) patronage and its implications within and between fur trade families and;

7) the personalities of the individuals involved in the trade.

THE SOCIAL AND PHYSICAL CONTEXT OF THE RED RIVER AREA

In order to provide an analytical framework for this study, the men who lived and worked at Brandon House and its outposts in what is now southern Manitoba and Saskatchewan, and northern North Dakota will be considered (Figure 2). These particular trade posts were located along the Assiniboine, Qui Appelle and Red Rivers that formed the primary transportation system used to exploit the region (Figure 2). Some of the short-term outposts were not located along these river systems. While the Assiniboine River trade and transportation network was minor in comparison to the Saskatchewan River system, the food products provided by the vast herds of bison in the area were of vital interest to the Montreal-based trade companies. As a consequence of this importance, the Hudson's Bay Company (H.B.C.) also developed an interest in the regi ; first to counter the North West Company (N.W.C.) and, second, to develop a provisioning system of its own that could supplement or replace expensive European foodstuffs. In this light, the Assiniboine River must be viewed as a primary east-west transportation corridor used to funnel furs and provisions into the Grand Portage - Lake Winnipeg portion of the transportation rou[illegible]etween Montreal and the Athabasca in the case of the North West Company. For the H.B.C., access to the Saskatchewan and Assiniboine Rivers provided them with the means to col ct preserved food, to maintain their own inland trade and transportation network and to feed the brigades travelling to the Bayside Factories, thereby saving on the amount of European food needed,

and assuring more space in the boats for trade goods.

Of equal interest and related importance to the fur traders and Natives alike, the riverine environment of these water routes and their tributaries provided a rich and varied source of raw materials. These environmental factors are due in part to the coincidence of the Assiniboine River with the ecotonal boundary between the mixed grass prairie to the south and west and the mixed deciduous and coniferous forests to the north and east (Figures 2 and 3). This buffer zone, while quite discontinuous and fluid, provided access to resources from both environmental regions (Syms 1977) and has been referred to as the Aspen Parklands (Bird 1961). Furthermore, this ecotone contained at least a seasonal concentration of resources that exceeded that of the adjacent ecological zones, both in terms of quantity and diversity of resources (Hickey 1974:89, Syms 1977). This "edge effect" likely attracted human beings from their "home ranges" in Prairie and Forest regions to exploit these seasonally rich resources (Hickey 1974:89). This situation of resource concentration and diversity acted as an attraction to historic Native groups, and likely had similar prehistoric effects as suggested by Syms (1977), Pettipas (1980) and Doll (1982). The effect of this attraction of humans of great cultural diversity into one region had profound effects upon Native populations that came into contact within this zone. Historic groups that were effected by joint exploitation of the Parkland included Plains-oriented Natives such as the Assiniboine, Sioux, Plains Cree, Bungi, Mandan and Gros Ventre, and the Forest-oriented Cree, Ojibwa and Ottawa. Numerous authors have commented on the social and economic significance of this contact in terms of social and technological interchange, trade, alliance and warfare (Ray

1974, Ray and Freeman 1978, Syms 1977, Pettipas 1980 and Hickerson 1962, 1965). In summary, to the fur traders the Assiniboine River provided a moderately reliable means of water transportation, usually with an abundance of food resources, easy access to water and wood for heat and construction, and some protection from the prairie fires of summer and fall and the cold winds of winter. This "reliable" resource base formed a convenient jumping off point for traders of several company affiliations to establish far-ranging outposts, to visit scattered Indian camps exploiting the open plains, parklands and forested uplands, and to maintain a wide range of ancillary work camps needed to supply the major trade posts. Throughout most of the period encompassed by this study, Brandon House formed the nucleus around which all of the Hudson's Bay Company's activities in the area were centred.

Certain historic phases may be used to construct a convenient framework for this study. They are: the expansion of the Hudson's Bay Company into the Red and Assiniboine Rivers in 1793; the period of intensive competition between the companies; the establishment of the nearby Red River Colony; and the 1821 Amalgamation of the major companies. The historical events of this 28 year period that influence the relationships of the men in this region will be reviewed in detail in chapter 3.

A number of issues are dealt with in the following chapters. Chapter 2 provides a review of the central analytical orientation that shapes the following discussion. This orientation is based in the anthropological perspectives of "economizing", "rational calculation" and "maximization". By this means, the actions and reactions of the various categories of H.B.C. employees can be considered without relying

upon the biased accounts of one specific employee category (ie the officers).

Chapter 3 contains a general overview of fur trade history, and provides a more detailed account of the important events that affected the occupants of Brandon House during the period under study.

The historic data base is reviewed in Chapter 4. This review considers the kinds of documents used and the reliability, strengths and weaknesses of each type.

The main body of the study is contained in Chapters 5, 6 and 7. Chapter 5 introduces the organizational structure of the H.B.C. by describing the usual seasonal round of work activities at an inland post. This review highlights the categories of H.B.C. employees, illustrates work roles of primary importance, and provides an introduction to the work related hierarchy. This hierarchy contrasts the importance of skills developed either through experience in Rupert's land or in Europe. Finally, the tradition of internal upward mobility is considered in light of the implications regarding long term career aspirations within the H.B.C. service. Chapter 6 deals with the issue of labour relations within the inland service. Of specific interest is the problem of acquiring and maintaining sufficient numbers of employees to support the inland trade system. The rapid expansion of the H.B.C. inland system at a time of prolonged European warfare placed the labourers in a position of relative strength. This permitted the labourers to use a series of collective and individual tactics to improve, protect and strengthen their lot within the Company. Issues of particular interest were moves to increase salary levels, to improve living and working conditions, and to protect and expand upon a series

of informal perquisites and benefits. Chapter 7 reviews the hierarchical structure of the Company through a period of rapid and profound change. Much of this change was implemented by the London Committee in an attempt to disrupt the strong bargaining position of the labourers, to introduce new management techniques rooted in the British Industrial Revolution, and to attempt to restore the company as a profit making institution. This diachronic review illustrated the effectiveness of this new management system, the weakening of the Bay Tradition of internal upward mobility, and the resultant sense of dissatisfaction with long term service on the part of the labourer category.

Chapter 2

ECONOMIZING BEHAVIOR

In order to develop an understanding of the dynamics of the hierarchy in the Hudson's Bay Company service, a number of assumptions and analytical concepts must be explicitly discussed. Large numbers of men of very diverse cultural backgrounds, aspirations and personal commitments to the Company served at the trade posts in question for varying lengths of time, and in varying capacities. Not surprisingly, this diversity often created tensions within the service as one group, notably the officers, strove to mold these men into an effective and reliable work force, and commented bitterly when their efforts failed. As a result, the company records are checkered with commentary and generalizations about the ability, reliability, effectiveness and suitability of various ethnic categories of men employed by the company. For example, one author might generalize that the Orcadian employees were a docile and easily managed group of men, but who lacked the spirit and drive of the French Canadians employed by the North West Company. The latter men, in turn, were described as being flamboyant, difficult to manage and extravagant in their livestyle. Furthermore, the Irish and Scottish labourers were often described to as being too hot tempered and difficult to discipline. Clearly the generalizations are of little use in themselves other than to point out patterns of prejudice within the service, and to indicate perceptions of the "ideal" servant carried by various officers. In order to avoid the analytical pitfalls of incorporating such attitudes into this study, the author has utilized an

underlying assumption based upon the perspective that all individuals (and groups) choose and develop strategies of action that reflect their own best interest. That is, individuals choose to pursue a goal through a process of "economizing" time, energy, resources and skills to meet specific ends that may be either material or non-material. Furthermore, these strategies or economizing calculations are mapped out on the basis of existing social patterns or rules of behavior that are part of that individual's cultural background, motivations and long term plans (Herkovitz 1968:41). Even deviation from these social norms can be viewed, in itself, to be a process of economizing whereby the attractiveness of the ends are measured against the possible costs of innovation. This perspective is calculated to enable the author to consider the actions of individuals of very diverse cultural backgrounds in light of that diversity rather than in spite of it.

This analytical orientation owes its conceptual basis to the utilization of principles rooted in economics, but developed in an anthropological perspective. Two general perspectives make up the current theoretical spectrum in economic anthropology; the Formalist and the Substantivist schools of thought. Both of these schools claim to attempt to understand the social context of economic activity (LeClair and Schneider 1968:4-6). The substantivist approach can be defined as the study of the interchange between man and his natural and social environment "insofar as this results in supplying him with the means of material want satisfaction". The formalist approach considers the "logical character of the means-ends relationship, as apparent in such words as economical or economizing" (Le Clair and Schneider 1968:10 citing Polanyi 1957:243). Thus, the substantivist approach implies an

attempt to understand the relationships between individuals and the social and physical environment, while the formalist approach implies an attempt to understand the logical or "rational" linkages involved in choosing between alternative "ends" utilizing finite "means".

The concern with understanding "economic" interrelationships between man and his environment on the one hand, and the logical linkage between the means/ends approach to "economizing" or "maximizing" on the other, underwent a schism with the assertion by Polanyi (1968:126) that formal economics is suitable only in "western market systems" based upon an empirical economy. Further, Dalton (1968) pointed out that the underlying premises of the formalist study of the means/ends perspective is that man's means are limited and his wants are insatiable. This application of the formalist economic approach solely to the "physical or material good" realm is inappropriate, in the view of Dalton (1968:149) and Burling (1968:168), who feel the logical process of the "economizing calculation" could involve the process of choice between both material and non-material needs.

This assertion leads to the recognition that the study of "economic behavior" is, in effect, the consideration of "choice, allocation of scarce means, including time and energy and not just money- is present in all ...behavior" (Burling 1968:168). Therefore, rational calculation implies the regular, ongoing process of economizing or allocating time, energy and resources towards one or more goals or ends based upon the rules of behavior and priority rooted in the cultural background of the individual.

To summarize, many feel that the formalist position (and its basic concept, maximization) is either inappropriate or trivial when applied

to non-western (indeed, non-capitalist) societies. In this case, since we are dealing specifically with a variant of western, early capitalistic society, and indeed with a specific structure designed to facilitate profit-making as well as wage earning and social advancement, I argue that the formalist perspective is valid, even if only in the sense of a tool to understand the individual in the context of the Hudson's Bay Company.

Following this orientation, the primary rationale for the majority of early European attempts at the colonial possession, exploration and exploitation of the western portions of British North America up to the late 19th century was for the acquisition of furs for resale in Europe. Consequently, it is logical to assume that the majority of the social contacts between individuals was coloured by the rules governing the exchange of goods. That is, the fur trade companies sent their employees into Rupert's land to barter for the furs collected by the Aboriginal people that they encountered. These furs were shipped to the European markets in order to provide the investors with a profit. The organizational structure of the companies involved was one which, in their eyes, acted to optimize that profit, while the employees of those companies engaged in the trade either for a share of these profits, or for a salary. This statement must not be construed to suggest that colonial expansion, a search for "adventure", or escape from European situations did not influence the decisions of individuals involved in the fur trade. In a similar vein, the Aboriginal customers of these trade companies engaged in the fur trade in order to acquire new or scarce utilitarian tools and exotic luxury items that were generally only available from the Europeans. As was the case with the Europeans, a

wide range of underlying motivations probably influenced the decision of Aboriginal people to get involved in the trade. The study of social institutions reflecting this preoccupation with the exchange of goods does not imply that it can be considered solely in the realm of a transactional exchange. Clearly, interpretation of social interrelations in all their complexity must be tempered by the recognition that "economizing", "self-interest" and "rational calculation" are affected by a number of interrelated factors. The importance of considering these modifying factors can be illustrated by Dowling's (1979:296-298) definition of the varying meaning of the term "reciprocity". Three of these meanings of the term are listed below.

> 1) Generalized reciprocity, whereby social relations between transactional partners are close and exchange is one of many variables binding people together and may actually be an expression of mutual expectations of sharing (ie sharing within a kin group).
>
> 2) Balanced reciprocity, whereby social relations have several facets and exchange is used to help retain, perpetuate or strengthen relationships such as political or kin alliance. To take advantage of one's trade partners would threaten the relationship which is being fostered in part through exchange.
>
> 3) Negative reciprocity, whereby the transactional relationship is unifaceted and commonly antagonistic. Under this form of reciprocity, the participants are concerned solely with the goods entailed and achieving the most advantageous exchange (ie commercial exchange as characterized by mercantalism).

As Dowling (1979:298) maintains, "each type of reciprocity has its governing rules determining the type of behavior appropriate for each group or individual with particular motives in mind". He also suggests that the boundaries between these types of reciprocity represent a continum and are directly related to the social distance between the participants.

Another important criterion to be considered in the study of social

relationships within the fur trade is in the varying meaning of the term "profit motive" (Dowling 1979:300). That is, profit may be viewed as a means to an end, or an end in itself. On the one hand, a transactional exchange may be initiated and determined by a motivation for a profit. Following the tack of classical formal economics, an increase in the demand for a commodity will stimulate a move to increase supply in order to achieve a greater profit. However, as Dowling (1979:300) points out in his discussion of subsistence agriculturalists, this meaning of the profit motive is not universal. As was the case with the meaning of reciprocity, "profit motive" can be considered to have a continuum of meanings. At the opposite end of the spectrum to the above, some economizing strategies view profit as being useful only to provide the means to other ends, and that an increase in demand need not necessarily result in an increase of supply in order to maximize profit. In the latter case, the supply is static and finite and cannot be stimulated by increased demand since profit is used only to provide a means to an inelastic end. Also of importance for the following discussion is the recognition that "profit" and "profit motive" can be both material and non-material. That is, an individual may be motivated to carry out acts solely on the basis of anticipation of a monetary return, while another individual will temper his action on the basis of social consequences such as his view of "honour", "reputation", and other non-material benefits and long-term goals that may or may not be specified in the minds of the historic actors. An individual may forego capitalizing on an advantageous situation that may maximize an immediate "profit" (whether material or non-material), in anticipation of future goals and in light of values that seem inconsistent with the idea of "economizing

self-interest".

The preceding discussion has dealt specifically with self-interest and economizing behavior in the context of the exchange of goods. As noted previously, economizing strategies can be viewed as means to both non-material and material ends. In this light, the concept of economizing is particularly fruitful since it can be used as a vehicle to understand all types of human interaction. It can provide the researcher with a flexible means of considering interactional behavior as a strategy based upon previous experience using culturally-learned rules. It also permits an analytical framework that can cope with flexibility and innovation in interactional behavior by considering the actors as rational, calculating beings. These actors can determine what they perceive to be in their own best interest, and can attempt to maintain that best interest while acting within the "rules" governing interaction, or by attempting to modify the "rules" to improve their lot. Success in attempting to modify the rules depends, among other things, upon the relative utility of the innovations, the number and the relative power of the individual or group initiating the innovation for whatever reason, and the acceptance of the new rules by one's interactional partners. It must be noted at this point that a gulf may exist between perceived best interest and what may actually appear to be best interest in the view of those who may consider the options through hindsight, superior knowledge or, for that matter, inferior and biased knowledge. What is important is the recognition that the actors develop strategies after considering the options to the best of their abilities in light of divergent motivations and in the context of learned patterns of appropriate behavior.

Consequently, "maximization", or the process of economizing time, energy and resources to meet material and nonmaterial ends, provides an analytical framework that permits one to view the employees of the Hudson's Bay Company as individuals. These individuals were motivated by individual aspirations, and utilized widely divergent means to satisfy these aspirations following social rules of behavior rooted in their own cultural heritage. The following chapters will not attempt to explain or illustrate maximization, but will use it as a heuristic device that is particularly suitable for considering the actions and attitudes of groups and individuals within the social mileau of the fur trade as it changed through time.

Chapter 3

THE HISTORIC CONTEXT

Most historians of the western Canadian fur trade recognize a series of broad time spans that are considered to be representative of characteristic patterns of exploitation divided by key turning points. For the purposes of putting the present study in its historic context, five such major time periods can be identified.

The first period, referred to as the pre-1670 fur trade, can be considered as being primarily French in origin from the colonial centres in New France. This trade was characterized by sporadic expeditions out of the St. Lawrence valley to supply Native Middlemen who, in turn, supplied more distant Indians beyond the reach of the French.

With the establishment of the Hudson's Bay Company in 1670, a second set of European centres supplying Indian Middlemen was set up from key "factories" along the coast of Hudson Bay. This middleman system was slowly modified through time in response to the slow penetration of the hinterlands by the French, particularly after the destruction of the position of the Huron and Ottawa Middlemen by the Iroquois Confederacy.

The next great turning point occurred with the defeat of the French colonial forces by the British in 1763, and Quebec becoming part of the British colonial empire. With this development, the trickle of French traders penetrating the interior hinterlands beyond Michilamackinac turned into a flood with the establishment of numerous Anglo-Scottish trading concerns based in Montreal. This increased pressure, in turn, forced the Hudson's Bay Company to develop policies to penetrate the

interior from their bayside supply points in order to pursue the trade actively. This penetration was initiated first by individuals or small groups of men who were sent into the interior to explore, or to establish bases from which to encourage the Natives to continue to travel to the bayside factories to trade. As the H.B.C. found the Canadian traders increasingly successful, they too were forced toward the establishment of temporary inland trading posts, and the copying of the Canadian trading tactics. This escalated into a period of intensive expansion and competition between a number of trade companies in the interior. With the passage of time and through a period of destabilizing competition and sporadic violence, the Hudson's Bay Company and the North West Company emerged as the dominant forces.

In 1821 these two companies agreed to amalgamate their interests in the name of the Hudson's Bay Company. The rush to collect furs at almost any cost had resulted in the irresponsible harvest of the furs and virtual collapse of the fur trade economy by the mid 1810's in most of the traditional fur reserves. The violence and competition of the trade and its effect upon the Natives had also been noted with disapproval by the British Colonial Office (Rich 1960). The attempt to salvage the fur trade was based upon sustained yield stategies of exploitation, cutting back on all unnecessary establishments, and by releasing all "superannuated" employees. The post 1821 period can also be seen as the time when the Red River Colony became solidly established as an agricultural settlement and a fur trade administrative centre.

Throughout the first half of the 19th century the H.B.C. faced many challenges to its monopoly and authority in the form of the continued decline of the fur trade economy, unrest and private trade among the

Native and Euro-Canadian population of Rupert's land. These pressures culminated in the 1870 sale of Rupert's land to the new government of Canada. This development marked the final struggle between the fur trade and the industrial / agricultural development of the North West Territories and the new province of Manitoba. This period also saw the eventual collapse of the fur trade through the destruction of the ecological base, and the decimation of the Native populations by disease and starvation. This decline coincided with the increased immigration into western Canada that was greatly accelerated by the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway. These developments forced the fur trade beyond the area of agricultural exploitation where it maintained itself into the twentieth century as a secondary industry.

The period of special interest for this study is limited to the period of inland expansion and competition between the companies prior to the 1821 Amalgamation. However, the implications of these developments and their effect cannot be considered out of context with the full range of the history of the fur trade.

In the 1770's, 1780's and 1790's, initial inland expansion, development and maintenance of an H.B.C. inland trade system was limited by, and dependent upon, a number of factors that included the availability of a sufficient supply of:

1) men to man the boats and the inland posts;

2) experienced officers, traders and labourers who could form a corps of Country Skilled leadership to guide the efforts of the unskilled labourers;

3) trade goods and provisions being available to supply a number of inland posts; and

4) guides and explorers who could find reliable and safe water routes and portages through the Pre-Cambrian Shield.

These factors were, in turn, influenced by a number of factors both in Europe and North America, such as warfare, climatic variations and business cycle oscillations that could affect the supply and costs of men, provisions and trade goods.

By contrast, the Anglo-Scottish Montreal companies were able to establish themselves in a major colonial centre, and utilize the skills and logistics of the French Canadian trade system that had developed over a period of 250 years (Morton 1967:37), and utilize men from the large number of voyageurs, traders and labourers available in Quebec.

In the case of Albany Factory, located on the west coast of James Bay (Figure 2), the expansion into the interior dates from the initial establishment of Henley House in 1743 (Bishop 1976). This post was not designed to serve as a trade post per se, but rather, as a means of encouraging Indians to continue to travel to the bayside factories instead of trading with the French in the inland. The Company was unprepared to make the committment for the establishment of an inland trade system. This stemmed from a "reluctance to change policy, derived from the disasters at Henley and from fears that inland masters would compete with the post by the Bay, would indulge in private trade, and would take to women and to drink" (Rich 1967:140). W.L. Morton (1967:43) also suggests that the difficulties of a "lack of canoes and canoemen; the lack of long service men who knew the country and the Indians" also figured in the company's reluctance to move inland.

As the rush of Canadian traders in the "Petite" and "Grande North" (Rich 1967:176) increased throughout the 1770's and 1780's, the H.B.C. was finally forced to modify their policies and commit themselves to inland trading. This was carried out with the establishment of

Cumberland House in 1774 by men from York Factory; and the establishment of Henley, Brunswich, Gloucester and Osnaburgh Houses out of Albany Factory (Figure 2). The Albany Chief Factor and Council realized that the key to disrupting the Montreal traders' system of supply lay in cross-cutting their long, precarious transportation route by establishing posts along Lake Nipigon, Rainy Lake, Lake of the Woods, Lake Winnipeg and in the Red River Country (Figure 2). In order to establish, maintain and expand this inland penetration, the H.B.C. appears to have relied heavily upon Canadian traders who had left the service of the Montreal Companies. Some such experienced men included Germain Maugenest, Simon Beaugrand, and John and Donald McKay. In the case of the H.B.C. expansion into the Lake Winnipeg and Lake Superior watersheds, the role of the McKay brothers was particularly significant.

While Jackson (1982) refers to Donald McKay as a British soldier who joined the North West Company in 1779, the Hudson's Bay Company records refer to him as a Canadian from Point Claire, Quebec. Whatever his background, he appears to have been an able trader, if somewhat erratic, violent and unpredictable, as a perusal of his personal journal and his nickname of "Le Malin" or "Mad Donald" would suggest (Rich 1960:178-180, D. McKay nd). After a period of employment with the North West Company, Donald McKay attempted to undertake an independent trading venture along the Saskatchewan River in the 1785-86 and 1786-87 seasons (Jackson 1982). This independent venture placed him in direct competition with his former employers and it proved to be disastrous for him as he "was economically and physically beaten" (Jackson 1982). D. McKay, a man of vigorous and violent temper, turned to the Hudson's Bay Company for employment, apparently to continue " what had grown to be a

private war with the Nor'Westers" (Jackson 1982). McKay quite literally intended to use the Hudson's Bay Company to get revenge for his defeat, as a letter to the Company indicates (HBCA, PAM, A.11/5/105-106) (2). The H.B.C., while they were somewhat alarmed by the vitriolic hatred apparent in McKay's letters (HBCA, PAM, A.11/5/154d-155), decided to employ both Donald and his brother John McKay in the projected expansion inland from Albany. As part of this plan, McKay proposed "that a route should be established north from Michilimackinac... and he promised to establish four posts in the area of Lake Nipigon within five years" (Rich 1967:177-178).

Donald McKay initiated the exploration beyond Osnaburgh House, connecting with the North West Company's transportation routes, while John McKay was employed as a trader to establish posts in the Lake Nipigon area (Figure 2). Donald McKay was so successful in his efforts and pursued his goals with such vigour that the company agreed to employ him at the unheard of salary of L 100 (3) per year (HBCA, PAM, A.16/6/15) and quickly placed him on the Albany Council of senior officers (HBCA, PAM, A.6/15/49d). John McKay was employed at L 40 per year and charged with the job of establishing a succession of posts in the Nipigon, Rainy River and Lake of the Woods areas (Figure 2); taking the competition directly to the Canadians and thereby disrupting their strategic provisioning and canoe building operations in the area (HBCA, PAM, A.16/6/16, Rich 1967:180). He was also charged with the job of recruiting Canadians from the Montreal Companies' service (Rich 1967:180).

The final stage of Donald McKay's strategy of revenge and the Albany Factory policy of developing an inland trade and provisioning

system that paralleled the Canadians' was initiated in 1793 when McKay led a party of men into the Red River area, the scene of his early fur trade career. This expedition was designed to tap the "rich" fur and provisioning trade of the Red and Assiniboine River systems with the establishment of Brandon House and its outposts (Figure 2).

The Hudson's Bay Company, with its penetration of the Assiniboine River, was faced with an array of competing Montreal traders that seemed to dot the river in clusters of two, three or more directly competing posts at strategic points along the water course. For example, Donald McKay established Brandon House within a quarter of a mile upstream from the post operated by a Mr. Augee of the North West Company and the post operated by Ronald Cameron on behalf of Mr. Peter Grant, an independent Montreal trader (HBCA, PAM, B.63/a/1/12-12d). This pattern of clusters of competing posts, leap frogging up the river, is characteristic of the fur trade during this period of intensive competition. Each company thereby jockeyed for a favorable position over its competitors by setting up as many outposts as necessary (or possible) to gain advantage over (or match) the efforts of one's competitors. This struggle rapidly escalated the level of competition, greatly improved the bargaining position of the Indians, inflated the cost of the furs being purchased, and significantly increased the number of men, boats, and supplies needed to maintain the system. E.E. Rich describes the competition at this time as being characterized by

> roistering good humour and hospitality, alternating with blustering intimidation; and with Donald McKay bringing to its service the ideas he had learned in his time as a Canadian trader, the Hudson's Bay Company was not behind hand (Rich 1960:181).

The nature of this erratic rivalry seems to have depended heavily

upon the personalities of the officers of the various concerns who faced one another at the small inland posts. Between many such men, cordial relations could be maintained with some cooperative efforts, labour exchanges and social visits. For example, the Christmas and New Year's festivities seem to have been important times to forget the trade and indulge in social interchange. At other times these men strove to outwit one another in their trade tactics, and sometimes the rivalry could escalate into physical violence, intimidation and attempts to "debauch" each others' Native trade partners.

For the Hudson's Bay Company, the inland expansion created major problems as they coincided with the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars. Large scale warfare of this length and magnitude offered a number of problems as the irregular cycles of war and sporadic peace created alternate military, naval and industrial demands for the supply of labourers available for the service. Similarly, in order to fuel a European wartime economy, the supply of goods, alcohol and provisions needed to maintain the inland fur trade grew limited, expensive and unreliable. Of an even more serious concern for the London Committee were the increasingly limited markets for furs as Napoleon's "Continental Policy" cut off the European markets. These problems intermittently plagued the H.B.C. throughout the 1790's up to the Battle of Waterloo in 1815. Further to the problems of supply and demand, European warfare added to the inflationary cycle of expenses and wage increases as the labourers manning the inland trade system demanded higher wages.

The importance of a supply of experienced, Country Skilled employees to the H.B.C. cannot be overemphasized. As was noted earlier,

the expansion from the Bayside factories required the availability of increasingly larger numbers of men with the skills, endurance, experience and courage to move inland into a relatively unknown social and physical environment. Throughout much of its history, the company seems to have relied heavily upon the services of young men from the Orkney Islands north of the north east coast of Scotland. These young men signed contracts for 5 years service with the company at fixed wages. A large proportion of these men served for 5 years and a short additional period at advanced wages, and then returned to Europe with sufficient capital to purchase farmland, or establish businesses (Nicks 1980). A minority of these Orcadians stayed in the employ of the company for much longer periods of time, gradually building up experience, skills and wages, until they either became senior labourers who could act in the capacity of foremen, boatsteerers or patroons, became traders, or even rose to officer rank to take charge of their own trade posts.

Supplementing the Country Skilled labourer categories of European background, the company also began to hire increasingly larger numbers of sons of H.B.C. employees and Native women, and occasionally Natives. With the expansion inland into areas that intercepted the North West Company, officers such as John McKay were also permitted to hire suitable Canadians for the H.B.C. service (Rich 1960:180). However the services of such men were to be accepted only if they had no outstanding contracts with the Montreal traders (Rich 1960:181). The employment of Canadians under these conditions were not particularly effective, however several highly valuable Canadian labourers, boatmen and traders were acquired by this means.

Throughout the closing decade of the 18th century and the first years of the 1800's, this pattern of trade continued in much the same style as the trade companies continued to jockey for position and control. However, significant changes were taking place as the Montreal companies created increasingly stable partnerships that effectively squeezed out the smaller concerns. They continued to perfect the logistics of procuring goods, transporting them to the Northwest, distributing them to the Indians, and returning the furs to Montreal. This system also took an increasingly large share of the annual yield of the furs.

Both of the major companies faced the problem of the effect of the European war on the fur market. In the case of the Hudson's Bay Company, the problem grew more serious as the depressed markets, and increased costs of procuring goods and men made the company's position increasingly precarious. This situation was approaching crisis proportions by 1809 (Rich 1960). At this point the London Committee seriously considered proposals to withdraw from actual involvement in the fur trade, and limit itself to simply outfitting traders who were to bear the brunt of the competition (Rich 1960:290). The year 1809 marked a turning point for the Company, as the newly elected committee members Andrew Wedderburn (later Colvile), and his brothers-in-law Thomas Douglas (the 5th Earl of Selkirk) and John Halkett successfully assured the rejection of Wollaston's proposals of retreat, and generated a renewed commitment to the competitive struggle to control the trade (Rich 1960:204). These men, particularly Wedderburn, represent a new, vigorous style of management brought to the company with his "own business experience, advocating sound management, careful accountancy,

and shrewd buying and selling, always with a view to avoiding waste and speculation" (Rich 1967:204).

This new style of business management commonly referred to as the Retrenching System was the first of a series of new policies that were a reflection of the economic climate of British commerce during the Napoleonic Wars, and the development of new management techniques that were the product of the emerging Industrial Revolution. In addition to the policies of reducing costs and streamlining management, over several years Wedderburn proposed a number of policies that included:

> 1) establishing a greater sense of individual initiative and aggression on the part of the H.B.C.'s senior officers by offering shares of the profit;
>
> 2) cutting costs by increasing the trade standard, abolition of bounties and premiums given to the labourers, increasing the costs of goods sold to the employees to a price that reflected the cost of purchase and transportation, attempts to reduce the wage scales paid to employees, and experimenting with piece work;
>
> 3) attempting to break the collective bargaining power of the Orcadians who formed the largest block of employees by attempting to diversify the labour supply through recruitment of men from Ireland, Western Scotland, the Hebridies, Scandinavia and Canada;
>
> 4) developing new accounting procedures that would permit more effective assessment of fur trade operations; and
>
> 5) reorganizing the fur trade departments with co-ordinated and systematic managment practices, etc.

The senior London management also seems to have adopted a much "harder", more demanding tone with their senior bayside officers. This was characterized by the increased frequency of reprimands, dismissals and threats issued in the public letters to the bayside councils. These hard-headed retrenching policies were tied to two other policy changes that dramatically changed the character of the fur trade, namely:

> 1) the initial planning of the Selkirk Settlement as a colony for landless farmers dispossessed by the enclosure movement of

Scotland;

2) and the acceptance of proposals by Colin Robinson, a former Montreal trader, who suggested that the H.B.C. establish a Montreal office, recruit large numbers of French Canadian voyageurs in Montreal, and aggressively push into the Athabasca country to compete with the North West Company for control of that area.

These developments had profound and far-reaching implications for the fur trade, particularly in the newly formed East and West "Winnipec" (sic) departments. These new jurisdictions were created out of the Albany Factory's establishments in the Lake Winnipeg, Winnipeg River and the Red and Assiniboine Rivers, and York Factory's Assiniboine and Swan River operations (Figure 2). This region become the scene of immediate and somewhat traumatic change that may have acted as a catalyst to the Brandon House Mutiny of 1810.

The establishment of Lord Selkirk's land grant in the strategic Red and Assiniboine River area in a fashion that straddled the critically important North West Company transportation network created great concern for the Montreal company. The senior officers of the N.W.C. appear to have had no doubts that the proposed colony and Colin Robertson's activities were part of a grand scheme to gain control of the fur trade. The actions of Governor Miles McDonnell in prohibiting the export of pemmican from the Selkirk land grant, verified this suspicion as it disrupted the N.W.C.'s flow of provisions between Lake Winnipeg and Fort William (Figure 2). These acts, in conjunction with the grant of Assiniboia to Selkirk alienated of the Canadian and Metis Freemen of the area whose primary livelihood was through employment with the N.W.C. or as provision hunters. These tensions escalated the level of competition to the point of open warfare. By the middle of the 1810's this conflict had resulted in the destruction of the colony several

times, the disastrous failure of the H.B.C.'s Athabasca campaign, the destruction of the H.B.C.'s posts along the Assiniboine River, and the Battle of Seven Oaks. These disturbing events forced Lord Selkirk to recruit a force of mercenaries to capture Fort William, re-establish his colony at Red River by force, and, in the process, shift the primary focus of the struggle from the fur hinterlands into the courts of Canada. However, the effect of the violence, the unrestrained pillaging of the fur resources, and the disruptive nature of competition out of control became increasingly apparent by the latter part of the 1810's in most of the southern fur territories. Quite simply, the fur trade was in a shambles and the primary trade companies were approaching bankruptcy. Realizing that they were in a "no win" situation, the two major companies amalgamated under the name of the Hudson's Bay Company in 1821.

The Red and Assiniboine River valleys, containing a number of provisioning posts and the Red River Colony, were on the threshold of profound change. With the 1821 amalgamation, large numbers of North West and Hudson's Bay Company employees were released from service. While some returned to Canada or Europe, many chose to either retire to the colony, some becoming farmers, others small private merchants, many to become freeman provision hunters, while others chose to become short-term boat men and cart men. The distressed nature of the provision and fur trade in this area and the drive to reduce costs in the context of a monopoly also resulted in the closing of most of the Assiniboine River outposts and a shift of the fur trade frontier to the north and west.

Chapter 4

THE HISTORIC DATA BASE

Researchers utilizing historic documents, particularly those who are non-historians, often labour under the misconception that there is some intrinsic "truth" in the written account of past events. According to this view of carrying out historic research, the historian assembles historic events in chronological order, monitors them to purge out non-truths and elements of mythology, and then logically links these elements in a narrative style that attempts to select and rank events in a pattern of causation (Louch 1969:58). By identifying underlying variables affecting the causal links between historic events, the historian attempts to "interpret", "explain", or give meaning to historic processes and social changes.

Following this "narrative" style of history, the researcher attempts to "explain" by a process of description of change in a fashion detailed enough to clarify the conditions of change (Louch 1969:57). This approach is particularistic in the sense that generalizations of the historic events focus on some sense of implicit causation linking these events. The details of the historic chronology and the implicit causal linkages are a function of the historic events. Consequently, particular events in a particular context are seen to produce a specific end result. This particularistic approach recognizes that the past is complex and is influenced by general pressures, key personalities and so on; however the assigned meaning of the event is closely and implicitly linked to the interpretation being drawn from those events (de Vries

1983:253).

A second school of historical study strives to identify "law-like generalizations" about the historic past in the tradition of the social scientist trying to identify general statements of the human condition. In White's (1984:11) view, the rise of this school of history is linked to Levi Strauss's rejection of the narrative method as a suitable analytical frame. This rejection came with the recognition that a modern view of the past is an expression of the mythological beliefs of the modern society. That is, a society selectively incorporates and perpetuates a set of "historic facts" and links them causally on the basis of what it wants to mythologize of its past. This second school of historical research set for itself the task of identifying and analyzing "long term" trends in demography, economics, ethnology, and social process (Knapp 1984, de Vries 1983:253, White 1984:9) in a fashion that was somehow "testable or falsifiable" in the same sense used in the classical scientific method.

The gulf between the "narrative" and the "scientific" approach to history is clarified with Knapp's (1984:36) identification of the gap between the scientific explanation of the general and the humanistic understanding of the particular. In Knapp's (1984) view, "falsifiable social theory" is possible only by the careful consideration of the "historic context" and that the goal for general law-like statements of the human condition requires a process of identification and clarification of the key variables. All other variables are ignored, or are not considered to be immediately significant. By this means the identification of law-like generalizations is dependent upon the causal links between the "key" variables being demonstrated. The gulf between

these two approaches to historical research is further enlarged as "...historians assume that other variables "never are equal and ought not to be treated as if they were". Social theorists "assume that other variables never are equal, but can always be treated as if they were" (Knapp 1984:36).

The more sophisticated grasp of historic chronology and context on the part of "narrative" historians makes them even more suspicious of the law-like generalization. Given this conflict, the author will attempt to develop generalizations of the historic process while taking care to consider explicitly the variables in light of their historic context. The obvious initial stage to this process lies in a review of the reliability of the historic data base used to draw these generalizations.

The utilization of historic documents to interpret events and social pressures is fraught with built-in methodological and theoretical weaknesses. Historic interpretation, particularly of the humanistic or narrative type, reflects the views of scholars rooted in their own cultural mileau, interpreting records of past human life. That is, humans organize, rank and interpret information on the basis of pre-conceived intellectual constructs and suppositions that colour all interpretations made. Due to changes in these constructs through time, historic events and the interpretation of their meaning and significance are constantly undergoing revision.

In addition to the dangers inherit with utilizing these interpretations of historic events, several factors must be considered prior to utilizing primary historic records written by people directly and indirectly involved in the events under study. For example, no set

of records can fully describe a society due to the complexity of human relations, and in light of incomplete survival of the records. Furthermore, utilization of primary historic records must consider the actual writer as a factor affecting the reliability and validity of the documents. This assessment must consider several questions.

1) Who wrote the documents? How heavily did ego orientation colour his/her writings?

2) What function did the document serve to the author? Was it personal, literary, or business oriented?

3) What were the biases, abilities, reliability, motivations and personality traits of the author and how would these factors be expected to colour his/her interpretations?

4) Who was the document expected to be read by? Was the record designed and written for public consumption, limited accessiblility, or was it wholly private in the form of a private diary?

5) What was the relationship between the author and the reader? Where they intimate friends, business partners, casual correspondents, or forming a master/servant relationship?

6) Is it possible for the present day reader to interpret the document in a fashion compatible with the cultural baggage of the author?

The primary historical documents used in this study are, by and large, papers written by employees of the Hudson's Bay Company and presently in the possession of the Hudson's Bay Company Archives of the Provincial Archives of Manitoba. These documents are all business related materials that include:

1) Journals of Daily Occurences;

2) Ledgers, Accounts and Equipment Purchase books;

3) General District Reports;

4) Lists of Servants and Servant's Resolves;

5) Officers' and Servants' Ledgers;

6) Official London Correspondence;

7) Country Correspondence;

8) London Minutes of Meetings.

The nature, reliability and weaknesses of each of these types of documents will be discussed in turn.

THE JOURNALS OF DAILY OCCURENCES

The daily journals are general narrative accounts of day-to-day activities of the fort community and its work force. They were usually written by the senior officer in charge of the post. These records outline the daily work events, noting visitors and customers, unusual events, the nature and activities of the opposition, the climate and other natural conditions that might be considered pertinent. These records were intended to provide an account of all events and occurences that could be perceived to be useful for the Bayside Chief Factor, and the London Governor and Committee. They were a primary source of information for these senior decision makers who were not on the scene. There is considerable variation from year to year and from officer to officer regarding what kinds and detail of information was considered valuable. A number of variables must be considered prior to assessing the utility of these documents. It must be pointed out that they are business documents written by the man in charge outlining activities carried out under his charge and destined to be read by that individual's superiors. Consequently, the daily journals must be viewed in the light of the education and abilities of the writer, and that they were written with an eye to protect and enhance the position of the author. That is, defending, explaining away or ignoring errors and

highlighting successes. The quantity and quality of information recorded in these journals vary greatly from author to author. It can even vary from week to week depending on the number of events considered to be noteworthy, the expertise of the author and in response to the varying level of interest that the author could sustain through a long winter season. Another factor to be considered is the health of the writer, and the amount of time that he could spare from other more immediately pressing responsibilities of trading, directing work activities, providing food for the employees and attempting to outwit the competition.

The writers of the journals often gave personal opinions of events and individuals, and the reader can often detect the officer's personal attitude towards his men, his customers and events going on around him. Given this aspect of the journals, the reader must use care in detecting and interpreting the fine thread of hidden meaning, innuendo, personal opinion and bias within the journal.

These journals often record the names, work roles, abilities and attitudes of the employees under the supervision of the writer. However, the reliability of this information, must be considered after acknowledging the personal biases and errors of omission by the writer. This is particularly the case when considering the information relating to the work activities of the labourers. In some cases specific men and specific work roles are consistently noted, while in other cases some men and work activities are referred to in only the most general terms. This often results in a record being portrayed whereby key experienced men are consistently referred to as they carried out important jobs, or led specific work parties, while men making up these parties were not

specified. Inexperienced men with few specialized skills that carried out the routine jobs such as cutting firewood, transporting meat, cleaning stables or cooking were seldom referred to by name. While this seriously skews the record in favor of the key men to the detriment of the record of the inexperienced men, and makes it difficult to identify bonds between men, it does serve to identify and emphasize the role of the experienced men and provides a means of following the careers of some men as they developed Country Skills over a long period of time. By this means, early in a man's career, he was seldom referred to by name, but as the years passed and he developed skills and was given more responsibility, he became more commonly referenced. No doubt, men who were referred to constantly in the journals in a fashion that emphasized their specific and varied work roles, were in a more advantageous position when renegotiating their wages. That is, the senior officers and shareholders relied upon these documents and the recommendation of the officer when deciding upon wage increases.

The Daily Journals do provide insights into the abilities, attitudes and biases of the writer, are often suggestive of patterns of friendship and patronage (or the lack thereof) between the officer and individual men, and provide details of events, work roles and business strategies of the post employees through the eyes of the officer in charge. It is also of interest that when new officers took over a post, they often provided details of the mistakes and mismanagement of their predecessors. However, this information must be very carefully used as the officers of the Hudson's Bay Company seem to be rather prone to character assassination, petty jealousies and competition in order to enhance their own position in the service.

There is also little or no mention of day-to-day family relationships. This is a function of the journals being primarily business documents to be transmitted to the writers' superiors. Furthermore, as the Hudson's Bay Company frowned upon their employees taking Native or Country Born families, an officer is very unlikely to have offered insights into the personal life of himself and his men. Despite this significant lack of information, sometimes oblique comments are apparent when the families of employees or other fort dependents figured in some event that was significant in the life of the fort community. Some such significant events could include births, deaths, or the work activities of the women and children that had special value to the Company.

When considering the daily events that are described by the officer in charge, the reader must take care to to differentiate between a record of routine events and noteworthy, out of the ordinary events that may be recorded simply for their novelty. This is particularly important when considering references to the Native customers and Canadian competitors of the post. In this sense, the reader might be misled with the constant reference to problems with violent or intoxicated Indians. It can be suggested that Native customers who did not create problems for the trader would not rate special mention in the eyes of the officer. In a similar vein, the attitude and familiarity of the author of the journal towards his customers, his men, and their families clearly affected the information being recorded. For example, a seasoned trader who knew the major trading Captains on a personal basis might refer to that captain by name, indicating the number of people, dogs and tents under his leadership. A new or disinterested trader might simply

refer to the group by tribal affiliation or simply as Indians. In the same sense, the officer with a long standing personal and professional relationship with some of his men, would likely write more sympathetically and more frequently of these men than of new men under his supervision.

LEDGERS, ACCOUNT BOOKS AND EQUIPMENT BOOKS

The ledgers, accounts and equipment books are the financial accounts of the trade post or posts in question. They can include inventories of trade goods in stock, noting quantities, prices and how much remained at the end of the trade season. Also included are inventories of provisions expended and furs acquired. In the "Equipment Books" the men's purchases from the company store are listed so that the total could be debited from their general accounts. These records often provide the dates, kinds, quantities and costs of all such purchases. The lists of employees provide information regarding the names, home parish (ethnicity), rank, balance on account, debts, wages and remarks regarding the relative abilities of the employee. Sometimes information regarding age, height, weight, physique and years in service are also included. Occassionally Indian debt books can be found that list the name of the customer, the amount of debt and how much was paid off.

While these records provide a great deal of information regarding the financial dealings of the trade posts and the purchasing patterns of the employees stationed there, they have a rather poor survival rate. Since they were often accounts of individual men from individual posts, the information enclosed therein seems to have been heavily abstracted by the factory clerks. The information was summarized and incorporated

into the general ledgers and only the summaries may have been forwarded to London. Consequently, a great deal of information regarding the kinds of goods purchased by individual men at particular times of their careers is lost. Furthermore, determining the rate of discount on goods and informal financial arrangements between the men have not been recorded, or are difficult to identify. For example, the daily journals often record that common men went hunting and trapping, but it is not known whether they received remuneration for the products of their efforts beyond that expected as part of their regular duties. Furthermore, it is difficult to determine what provisions, alcohol, dry goods and other goods were supplied gratis to the men and what they were expected to purchase. Other problems that must be considered include the question of what goods and supplies were sent from Europe to the men by kinsmen and other associates, and what were sent to them via orders through the Hudson's Bay Company warehouse in London. It is clear that a number of means of supply existed for the men, and only one source is documented in the archives. Another important question that cannot be addressed is whether these goods received by the common men served as elements of barter in private trade or as payment for services between Europeans and Indians, and between Europeans.

THE GENERAL DISTRICT REPORTS

With an attempt at a more centralized formal administration, the Hudson's Bay Company began demanding general district reports from their senior officers. These descriptive summaries were set up in a rather stylized format with the writer providing a physical description of the district that sometimes included maps. These physical descriptions

considered water routes, topography, vegetation, climate, the suitability of the district for agricultural exploitation, as well as a listing of the products of trade. Also included is a section noting advantages and disadvantages of the district, the numbers and locations of trade posts and their primary returns. Often the writer would attempt to describe the Aboriginal occupants of the district, providing information regarding ethnicity, the size of the bands, a general demographic profile, the area and resources that each group exploited and sometimes the kinds of material they provided to the Company. The names, rank, work roles and abilities of the company employees were sometimes also provided.

Despite the stylized descriptive format, there appears to have been some latitude for personal commentary and suggestions by the senior employees. These reports provide a general overview of the district and the trade and are useful both to verify information available from other sources and because they represent an attempt to summarize and describe the trade for readers not familiar with the area and the nature of the trade. Whether the reader was a 19th century H.B.C. shareholder or a 20th century historian, such insights can be particularly fruitful. However, as was the case with the Daily Journals, the reader must be aware that what is being read is a selective summary and description by one individual with his own opinions, biases and motivations.

THE LISTS OF SERVANTS AND SERVANTS' RESOLVES

In order to maintain records of employment, provide some measure of administrative control, and to ensure some orderly centralized procedure for contract renegotiation, personnel records in the form of lists of

servants were maintained. A listing of all individuals was provided for each factory or department. These records outlined the employment history of all employees on a year to year basis. These listings noted the names, parish of origin, work rank, the year service commenced, wage rate, and contract expiry date. Sometimes the servant's age, remarks concerning his abilities and conditions for renewing contracts were also included. Given the nature of the documents, the fact that there were often several men with the same name, and that there was no record of where the men served other than the bayside factory (ie York, Albany, Eastmain, etc.), these documents are often difficult to use. Furthermore, since the majority of the surviving records are the London versions, they are often incorrect, or contain out of date information. These problems are a function of the monumental administrative scale of the Hudson's Bay Company's operations and that all communications between the administrative headquarters, the bayside factories and inland posts were delayed by at least one year. Further to this problem of administration with poor channels of communication, the listings of formal rank and work responsibilities noted in the lists of servants do not necessarily correspond to the actual duties noted in the daily journals. For example, young, untrained Orcadian employees would be listed as labourers. Similarly, long-term employees with many Country Skills could also be listed as labourers. The only means of distinction is on the basis of the wage that these individuals could command. However, a number of criteria seem to have affected wage scales in addition to abilities and experience.

Some work roles, while appearing to be quite specific, are only "code words" that imply a much wider range of responsibilities and

skills. For example, a boat steerer was a man who, as the job title implies, was responsible for steering the batteaux. Implicit with this job description was the ability not only to steer the boat, but with sufficient knowledge of the navigable waterways, the ability to command the boat crew, and with sufficient knowledge of the country to carry out a number of duties not related to steering a boat. The author suspects that a "boat steerer" was a man of long service, with proven abilities, who could command the other labourers and who served as the leader of small work and trade parties in the absence of the officers. He was, in effect, a non-commissioned officer (a patroon).

As part of the process of renegotiating the contracts of employees who wished to stay in the "service", the year before contract expiry the employee was expected to correspond to the London committee through his supervisor outlining the conditions under which he would continue employment. These conditions generally involved requesting a significant increase in wage which appear to reflect the experience and abilities of the employee, manpower shortages and an awareness of what remuneration other employees were receiving. These servant's resolves or requests were transmitted to the London Committee with added commentary by an officer regarding the abilities and attitude of the employee and whether he was worth the wage. The London Committee would respond the next year (at the contract expiry date) by agreeing to the new conditions, by lowering the wage scale to that in keeping with their wishes, or stating that the employee was to be recalled to Europe. While these procedures imply some measure of autocratic centralized control, the actual situation suggests a much more flexible system of renegotiation. For example, if the manpower shortage was acute, the company could not

recall men without closing down the inland posts. Similarly, if a number of contracts expired at once, the men seem to have collectively renegotiated by making consistently high requests. Furthermore, there seems to have been a number of other informal arrangements used by the common men to enhance their bargaining position. Financial settlements were also sometimes made by the inland officers that sidestepped the formal, centralized renegotiation procedure.

As was the case with the financial records, the lists of servants and resolves provide information regarding the formal administrative framework, but by themselves only provide hints of the informal in-field arrangements that were made between senior officers and men, and among the men. These informal arrangements are integral to any understanding of the social structure, however, they are poorly documented since they are, in effect, attempts to circumvent the rules. Therefore neither the officers nor the men were likely to document them for their employer's perusal.

THE OFFICER'S AND SERVANT'S LEDGERS

The accounts of all company employees were recorded in the general ledgers. These ledgers are debit and credit entries by year for each servant in each factory. These records list the name, home parish and formal work role of each employee through their term of service with the company. The debit entries list cash advances on wages, goods purchased as per information from the factory's records, bills cashed and record transfers of money from the company's account to relatives, banks, lawyers, investors and agents. These records provide an outline of how individuals managed their wages and sometimes provide details of whom

the employee was supporting financially in Europe. The credit side of the ledger lists wages earned, travel premiums and residence bounties, gratuities and bills cashed in the employee's credit. These credit and debit entries also provide details of when the individual entered and left the service and even note the amount and reasons for fines imposed against their wages. These records are very important since they summarize an individual's career in the Hudson's Bay Company service. They document changes in wages and responsibility, patterns of purchasing, means of financial management and provide some suggestion of patterns of service and upward mobility. They also serve to illustrate strategies of individuals of all ranks and social backgrounds which are not coloured by the interpretations and biases of the officers in charge. However, they remain very sketchy and brief financial accounts which do not record informal relationships nor document private sources of income, and what happened to the financial investments made with money transfered out of the hands of the H.B.C.. They clearly indicate a range of very sophisticated strategies of financial investment that imply that the economizing strategies implicit in the perceptual framework of the study are very appropriate.

THE CORRESPONDENCE

The correspondence that has survived consists of several types that are listed below.

1) OFFICIAL LONDON OUTWARD: These are letters from the London Governor and Committee to the Factory Chief and his Council. They provide general instructions regarding how to conduct the trade, return detailed answers to specific question asked by the councils, make requests for more information and outline policy changes. They also describe the success of the London fur sales and provide information regarding what kinds and grades of furs are particularly popular.

2) OFFICIAL LONDON INWARD: These general letters from the Factory Chief and his council to London provided the general means by which the bayside servants responded to the demands of their employers. They provided information, outlined proposed changes, and describe problems that had been encountered in the previous year.

Other kinds of correspondence between London and the bayside factories include enclosures of important letters from one field officer to another, and between the employees of the H.B.C. and the N.W.C.. Confidential correspondence between the Factory Chief and London that was too sensitive to be read by the council were also often included. Sometimes the correspondence books of the inland posts will contain relevant letters written between officers. Similarly, letters sent by or received by an officer might be copied into the daily journal. These letters or extracts of letters often provide specific details of the workings of the company and its personnel. However, it must be recognized that the correspondence are business documents written by members of the managerial group to one another. Little or no personal correspondence is available and very little personal information can be gleaned from the correspondence copy books. It is sometimes possible to detect patterns of personal opinion and commentary in some of the letters. As was the case with the majority of the other kinds of documents discussed above, the correspondence must be used with great care, keeping in mind who the author was and with due consideration given to his possible motives, biases and the level of understanding of the subject being discussed.

SUMMARY

The utilization of the above sources of information to gain a

perspective of the social organization of an inland Hudson's Bay Company outpost requires the recognition of several problems with data reliability and validity.

The most important realization that the researcher must make is that he is working with an incomplete data base. That is, it is physically impossible for any writer to compile a set of documents that could record all aspects of a society in all its complexity and variation. Further to this is the point that the Hudson's Bay Company Archives documents are primarily business records. These business records deal specifically with the financial and administrative operations of the company. However, by their nature, some of these records contain information regarding other aspects of life in Rupert's land. Furthermore, the vast majority of the documents were written by the officer group to provide business information to their superiors and employers. Obviously, prior to their use these records must be critically evaluated in an attempt to consider the motivations of the author, what implicit and explicit messages are being presented, who was the recipient of the information, and what was their relationship to the writer. In addition to these questions, the modern reader must ask whether the author was capable of writing credibly about the subject at hand. This involves consideration of the experience and knowledge of the writer, and whether he was intellectually capable and literate enough to transmit his views on paper. A further problem to be considered is that the writer was a member of a society quite different from that which he encountered in Rupert's land. Newly arrived officers might not even understand the structure and organization of the Hudson's Bay Company, let alone the bewildering and complex nature of the many diverse groups

of Indians that he encountered through the process of trade. There is no doubt that the officers who described life and trade at Brandon House were carrying a rather large load of "cultural baggage" from 18th and 19th century Britain that could not help but colour their perception of the world they encountered in western North America. Conversely, the Journals written by very experienced officers who served many years in succession at the same post seem to contain less information than one would expect. Perhaps this is due to the officer losing interest in the job over time, or simply growing to know the routine life of the post so well that he no longer felt the need to record a succession of events that, to him, were a tedious repetition of mundane daily events.

It is apparent that a large portion of the records of the Hudson's Bay Company have been either lost or destroyed, or are not accessible. The Brandon House records, while being quite extensive, still have rather large gaps in the documentation. For example, from 1793 to 1810 the daily journals have all survived. However, several journals recording the yearly events after this date are missing. These gaps seriously affect the reliability of diachronic interpretations that rely upon a continuity of similar kinds of data through time. This is particularly a problem with the records of purchases made by the employees through the course of their careers. Further to this problem is the fact that the continuity of several data sources is disrupted by changes in accounting procedures.

Another problem to be considered is the possibility that the 20th century reader might misinterpret the meaning of what is written in an 18th century document. The original writer expressed himself using patterns of thought, speech and vocabulary that may be quite different

from that of the modern reader. Words change their meaning, and different writing styles, spelling and punctuation can imply different meanings. Further to this problem is the fact that the writer was from a different cultural mileau than the reader, and any attempt to understand and interpret the meaning behind an action must acknowledge that the writer probably had different expectations, and senses of obligation and priority.

The reader of the archival record must also be aware that the writer of each document was an individual whose perceptions of people and events around him might be coloured by highly individualistic psychological and intellectual ideosyncracies. A good case in point are the writings of "Mad" Donald McKay, the first trader at Brandon House. It would appear that his dislike of the N.W.C. was more than simply professional rivalry. McKay's hatred of the Montreal traders, his sense of grievance and his desire for revenge all date to his unsuccessful attempt to trade in his own right in the late 1780's. These ill feelings seem to have been the primary reason why he joined the Hudson's Bay Company, and later was the driving force behind the Honourable Company's expansion into the Red and Assiniboine River valleys.

The historian or the anthropologist using historical records must also be very aware that the interpretations drawn by him from the historic record are at least coloured by his own cultural background, preconceptions, intellectual underpinnings and theoretical orientations.

Finally, a recognition of the existence of spatial variation and rapid diachronic change must be made. That is, not only do conditions of the physical and social environment change with bewildering rapidity, but people and their attitudes, perceptions and expectations also change

through time.

The present research, with its approach of using anthropological concepts to study historical events and people requires the author to state explicitly some of these distinctions between the disciplines.

An anthropoligical approach implies a strong sense of distinction between individual and group action. This involves identifying the actions of individuals, and clearly documenting whether they were idiosyncratic or consistent with the actions of other individuals of the group. This sense of individual versus group action implies detailed recording and rigorous compilation of individual actions that can be viewed against a background of group action. Clearly, an anthropologist with access to living informants is in a much better position to collect this kind of information than a historian working from fragmentary historic records. Often a historian is forced to cite one or two examples of individual action in order to illustrate what is believed to be "group action", "social change", or "group values". Since the data base is less than ideal, the author will have to indulge in discussion, commentary and interpretation from sometimes weak, sparse or even contradictory data. Interpretations made on the basis of such information will be labelled as speculative or tentative. As far as the data base will permit, the research will deal with the social structure of Brandon House at the level of the individual prior to attempting to identify patterns of group behavior. This will involve the study of detailed records of the careers of individual men. These records will involve recording the official record of their employment that noted their changing income, work responsibilities and expenses, and contrasting or supplementing this information with references from the

daily journals and the correspondence that tend to reflect more of the informal life of the people of interest. The eventual synthesis of such information is expected to reveal individual behavior in light of the actions of others. Factors expected to effect patterns of such behavior are work role, marriage patterns, class, kinship, age grade, friendship bonds and ethnic background.

Chapter 5

THE ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE H.B.C.

PATTERNS OF LIFE AND WORK AT INLAND TRADE POSTS

The cycle of annual activities undertaken at an inland trade post is indicative of the kinds of men and their work roles needed to carry on a successful trade in the hinterland. The Daily Journals of Occurrences from Brandon House are very useful in illustrating this complex annual cycle. These documents are continuous from 1793 to 1812, and include several summer journals, however, they become much more sporadic after the latter date. The journals illustrate a wide range of activities including the annual trade routine, the extensive ancillary work activities, illustrate changes in trade practises through time, and even hint at the informal leisure activities of the fort's occupants. The following discussion is based upon the Brandon House Journals between 1793 and 1812 and reference to specific activities as part of the annual routine reflects their repetitious mention in the journals from one year to the next. Hence, no specific references will be provided other than noting that the following discussion is based upon the HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/1 to 18b journal series.

The annual cycle of activities at an inland fur trade post was initiated with the arrival of the supply boats at their winter quarters in the fall, and ended with the embarkation of the boats in the spring destined for a summer rendezvous with the bayside brigades in order to be resupplied. Depending upon the size and importance of the outpost, a few men were left inland to maintain and protect the post, trade with

Indians, tend the horses and dogs, and care for the gardens.

With the approach of fall, the pace of events increased as the men and boats carrying the supply of trade goods approached the post. At this time, summer men were dispatched with horses in order to carry provisions to the boatmen and to return with goods. By this means the boat—men could conserve their European provisions and the heavily laden boats could more easily ascend the Assiniboine River that was usually very shallow after the summer heat. With the arrival of the winter's trade goods, large numbers of Indians usually gathered at the post to exchange the products of their summer hunt, receive payment on the furs and provisions that they had deposited on credit through the summer, and generally to join in the bustle, activity and festive atmosphere of the boats' arrival. The arriving boat crews raced against the approaching freeze-up to divide the cargo into lots destined for the various outposts, organize into wintering groups, and set off for their various winter stations.

With the completion of these activities, the officers and men set about sorting goods, distributing goods to Indians on credit, and constructing, repairing, renovating, expanding and winterizing the log structures. This included repairing and fireproofing the chimneys, chinking and plastering the cracks between the logs and maintaining the palisades. The fall also saw the harvesting of the garden produce and initial collection of a supply of firewood. The approaching cold weather also demanded that the tailor begin preparing clothing out of the stock of cloth in order to protect the labourers from the elements. In the early years of Brandon House's occupation, this job was of critical importance as the poor supply system and arduous work of the labourers

virtually destroyed the men's clothing by fall. The approaching winter season also saw an accelerated rate of logging, construction and repair activities, day long hunting expeditions, in addition to the regular routine of trading with Indians and watching over the visitors in order to minimize the chances of violence and pillaging. The cooper also became very busy trying to build as many kegs as possible to provide the traders with a ready supply of containers to dispense alcohol to the Indians. Apparently the Indians insisted upon getting their alcohol in wooden kegs so that the iron bound ones could be knocked apart for their metal hoops in order to produce metal tools, and the wood bound ones could serve as water containers on the prairie during the summer treks in search of bison.

With the arrival of snow, the winter trade season began in earnest as the snow permitted the use of sleds. The Post Master would begin to dispatch men to hunt bison either on a day to day basis from the trade post, or by establishing hunting camps closer to the herds if they were at a distance from the post. Ironically, severe winter weather generally assured a plentiful supply of bison meat as the animals would be forced into the sheltering river valleys and parklands in large numbers, while warm or snowless weather permitted them to remain on the open prairie. In such times of shortage, or if a sufficient number of skilled European, Canadian, or Country Born (4) hunters were unavailable, the services of Native hunters were required. In any case, large numbers of labourers were regularly employed hauling the meat from caches out of reach of the wolves, or from the hunting camps into the fort. These meat hauling trips could be day long ventures, or could require several days to complete. Obviously, such work required hardy, healthy, well-dressed

and equipped men who were skilled in winter travel and camping, and with sufficient familiarity with the area to avoid getting lost. Men without such skills, or whom encountered sudden snowstorms often got lost with sometimes disastrous consequences (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/4/23d-25).

Some labourers were also continually employed cutting, hauling, crosscutting and splitting firewood. As the local supplies of wood were exhausted, some men were dispatched to more distant wood lots to establish camps where they would either remain for the season, or until they had completed their alloted duties.

The arrival of snow permitted the dispatching of small parties of men from one post to another in order to supply the outposts with trade goods and provisions, to carry letters to the Outpost Masters, and to carry furs and provisions back to the main post for sorting, storage and packing. As was the case with the hunters, this work role required men with much strength and endurance, a familiarity with the country, and with Country Skills to permit survival under highly adverse conditions.

At intervals through the winter, picked men were also sent out on trading expeditions to the Mandan villages along the Missouri River. These trips entailed risks far greater than even those encountered by the outpost travellers, as they were forced to travel long distances across the open country, trade in the Indian villages from relatively insecure "houses" or tents, and were forced to cross a war zone where they risked encountering hostile Indians such as the Sioux and "Big Bellies" (Gros Ventre), and Assiniboine middlemen who resented the incursion of Europeans into their trade domain.

Supplementing the trade of the outposts, particularly in times of intense competition between trade companies, the Brandon House Master

also dispatched small mobile parties of men and trade goods on trade trips to the camps of the Indians. These trade trips could be of several days duration and also required experienced men as they involved: finding the Indian encampments, dealing with competing traders travelling to the same camps, successfully completing the trade exchange as cheaply as possible without alienating the customers, avoiding pillage or attack by disgruntled or intoxicated customers, and getting safely back to the post with the furs.

In addition to these special activities, a wide range of other ancillary work was also undertaken during the winter. Skilled tradesmen were employed throughout the winter producing clothing for the men and Indians, constructing or repairing kegs, boats, carts and other wooden items, repairing iron tools or producing nails, and sawing boards in a saw pit. Men with lesser skills were employed packing and filling the icehouses, cutting and hauling logs, drying meat and preparing pemmican, packing furs, cleaning and maintaining the post, cooking, and tending the horses. The latter job could range from cleaning stables, to finding lost horses, to harness manufacture, castrating and breaking colts, and to the dangerous job of protecting the valuable animals from the Native horse thieves who plagued the posts. Some men were also sporadically employed preparing and maintaining lime, charcoal and potash kilns, producing soap, candles, ammunition, snowshoes, canoes, fish weirs, fish nets and maple sugar, and bark collection. In some of these cases Native women, the wives and children of the men, or local Native dependents were employed on a piece-work basis. The traders were also kept busy through the day and into the night with a continual stream of Indians coming in to trade, socialize, bury their dead, or get provisions from

the post.

This busy and arduous winter routine was broken with sabbath "rests", the Christmas and New Year festivities, days off, or alcohol "treats" at the discretion of the officer in charge.

As the days got longer and the snow started to soften, the outposts, and hunting camps were gradually closed and the belongings and goods hauled home to the main post, with the exception of outposts serviced by water transportation. These latter posts were closed down after the spring breakup. The others had to be abandoned before the disappearing snow forced the abandonment of the sleds. This was particularly the case for the Mandan expeditions and hunting camps serviced by dog sleds before an acquisition of sufficient number of horses. The impending spring breakup signaled the maintenance of the boats, particularly the heavy batteaux in order that they could sustain the process of dragging them over the portages. The preparation of the boats entailed recaulking, and the installation of false keels, the production of paddles and setting poles, and the repair of boat coverings. The warm spring days also saw the packing of furs into bundles, the frantic efforts to dry and smoke fresh and frozen meat, and produce pemmican for the journey out. In addition to these activities, the traders were also kept busy with Indians coming in to trade their spring hunt, and to pay their debts. The spring breakup also permitted the construction of fish weirs, the setting of nets, or the harpooning of spawning fish.

With the arrival of the men from all of the outposts, the trade season rapidly approached its end. The final packing of furs, the organization of the boat crews, and the appointment of the Summer Master

and men who were to remain inland marked its close. However, this busy season was also a festive time, not only due to the end of winter and the anticipation of the start of a new season, but also with competitive target shooting, visiting with co-workers, and preparation for separation from one's friends and family throughout the summer.

At the appointed time, the Post Master and the heavily laden batteaux with their crews embarked on the long and arduous trip out to the rendezvous with the boat brigades from the Bayside Factories. Prior to 1811, the men of the Red River area journeyed to Martin's Fall via the Winnipeg and English River systems, through Lac Seul, and Lake St. Joseph to Osnaburgh House, and then into the Albany River headwaters, to Gloucester House, and on to Martin's Fall (Figure 2). At this relay point, all the inland brigades met the Albany Chief Factor and his men with the next year's supply of trade goods. The cargos were exchanged, the Chief Factor met with the senior inland officers to exchange information, relay instructions from London, plan strategy for the upcoming year, settle the accounts and contracts with the men and allocate men, boats and trade goods for the return into the hinterland. The newly formed boat crews composed of reassigned men, new recruits, seasoned boatsteerers, senior labourers and officers then embarked on the long return trip back to their winter stations before freezeup.

In the meantime the Summer Master, generally a junior officer or senior labourer and his men had been employed in their annual summer tasks. While these work roles seem less arduous than those of the boat brigades, summer appointments were not always sought after. These "summer men" would have no chance for reassignment, formal promotion, or personal wage renegotiation, did not get a chance to meet comrades at

the Martin's Fall rendezvous, missed out on the chance to purchase goods from a better supplied company store. They also faced the increased risk of attack from hostile Indians raiding in the area. The summer men traded with Indians, if there were any goods left, hunted, if there was any ammunition, planted, tended and harvested the gardens, and cut hay for the horses. They were also responsible for the maintenance or expansion of the post, collecting and preparing wood for the cooper, and tending and guarding the horses. These activities culminated with the job of hauling provisions to the approaching boat brigades in the fall. At this point the annual cycle of events repeated itself with the start of a new trade season.

From this discussion it is apparent that the maintenance and operation of a fur trade post was a complex, and labour-intensive activity that required skillful management, and preparing for a number of contingencies both natural and man-made. While the primary purpose of the post and its occupants was the acquisition of furs and provisions, it is no coincidence that the journal entries illustrate a preoccupation with the wide range of ancillary activities that supported the central occupation. While the labour-intensive nature of the annual work cycle of the post required relatively large numbers of semi-skilled labourers, it is also apparent that the successful completion of this cycle was governed, shaped and orchestrated by experienced and able officers, and a corps of key men who were able to carry out the specialized activities that required a wide range of Country and European skills. These labourers also filled the leadership roles of the various work parties of men of lesser abilities dispatched from the post. Without both a sufficient number of manual labourers, senior labourers and officers to

direct their duties, the inland post system would collapse under the weight of its own logistical demands. This was precisely the problem the Hudson's Bay Company faced with its inland expansion, and was a primary cause of their inability to compete effectively with the well-organized and well-supplied North West Company.

CATEGORIES OF H.B.C. EMPLOYEES

The work force, ranking, and organization of the work roles into the hierarchy of the Hudson's Bay Company was based upon the availability of men with abilities that can conveniently be categorized as either Country or European skills. Country skills were those abilities based upon a man's Rupert's land experience, either through long service in the country, being raised in the Hudson's Bay Company service, or through his Aboriginal heritage. European skills can be categorized as those abilities learned and developed in Europe, or as part of one's European heritage in the case of the Country Born sons of H.B.C. employees. These can involve skills as tradesmen, or literacy in order to read orders, write journals and maintain accounts. Obviously, men who possessed a range of both European and Country Skills were of premium value and were of strategic importance for the orderly and successful operation of the post.

The range of positions available within the H.B.C. service and the salaries such positions could command are illustrated in Table 1. This table is based upon the salary range for men employed within the entire H.B.C. service during the years 1791 to 1793; at the height of the move inland, but prior to the inflationary spiral of wages due to the Napoleonic Wars. Work roles that imply some measure of Country Skill

include Inland Traders, Linguists, Masters, Superintendent of Craft, Patroon of Woods, Hunters, Steersmen, Canoe Men, and Canoe Builders (Table 1). Men formally categorized as labourers, particularly the more senior men, also possessed a number of Country Skills as reflected by the higher wages and shorter contract periods that they could command.

Perhaps the most significant job categories that had a Country Skilled aspect in the context of the inland trade were the Inland Masters and Traders. These men were generally long term career men with the company, had extensive records of service in the interior posts, and often had risen to their positions of authority and responsibility through the ranks. In fact, some of them even rose from the ranks of the labourer and tradesmen categories. In the context of the move inland, Canadian officers of great experience, but low seniority with the company, sometimes "leapfrogged" into positions of responsibility over the long-term Orcadian employees.

Another important category of Country Skilled employee was that of the Steersmen or Boatsteerers. As the job title would suggest, these men were responsible for navigating the boats through the often dangerous water routes of the interior. Obviously, this job category was filled by men of no small experience with the rivers and the craft, as an accident could have disastrous consequences. Furthermore, men capable of leading the boat brigades up the water routes and across the portages were absolutely necessary in order to assure that the goods reached their final destination in time. These men seem to have possessed rather more authority than one would first think. It would appear that the officers delegated some of their authority to them in keeping with the steersmen's considerable experience while on the annual boat trips. As a

case in point, John McKay noted in 1803 that the boatsteerers refused to allow the extra cargo that McKay wanted loaded into the boats (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/10/10). Apparently, in their judgement, the boatsteerers felt that the extra weight would be too great to allow passage over the shallow rivers and would be too heavy to portage. Despite the rather narrow range of duties implied by the job title, "boatsteer" seems to have been used as a code word to describe labourers of great ability (ie Country Skills) acquired through long experience or through skills learned from Native, Country Born, or experienced European associates. In this sense, men listed as Boatsteerers in the London Ledger Books were senior labourers who led work, hunting and trade parties, were junior traders or interpreters, or served as masters of the small outposts when junior officers were unavailable. In this sense, they might be considered as the equivalent of non-commissioned officers in a military organization.

In order to carry out the process of the trade exchange, and to assure reliable communication with the large numbers of Indians who traded at the post, the services of interpreters or linguists were required. Depending upon the locale of the trade post, interpreters of several languages were required, not only to deal with the Natives, but also with any unilingual French freemen in the area. As would be expected, interpreters of Native languages would also have to have a firm grasp of standards of trade etiquette. The Hudson's Bay Company relied on several sources for such services:

1) long term European officers and labourers who had acquired Native languages through their trade experience, contact with Indians, or through their Native spouses and her relatives;

2) through the services of "Canadian" or Country Born employees who had acquired their ability through experience or through

parental heritage;

3) via European servants sent out with the Indians for long periods of time with the express purpose of learning the language, and;

4) through the informal and less reliable services of Native spouses and other multilingual dependents of the post, or through the services of Natives who were also trading at the post.

As the above discussion would suggest, interpreters were generally men of much experience and significant Country Skills, as they often carried out a number of other duties in addition to their formal duties in the trade shop. These experienced men were also often dispatched in charge of small mobile trade parties to the camps of the local Indians, once again emphasizing their important role in supplementing the officers' duties.

The great deal of travelling, hunting, fishing, and goods transportation activities define another kind of Country Skilled employee. As noted earlier in this chapter, these duties, particularly those carried out in winter, required men of extremely good health, strength and endurance, supplemented by courage and the ability to live and work in an exposed and demanding physical environment. The skills required for hunting and travelling could only be learned by long experience in the company service, or through life in the Native and Freeman camps surrounding the forts. The records of Brandon House over the years clearly illustrate the kinds of men who had this capability and it is apparent that the Company relied heavily on their Canadian and Country Born employees, supplemented by Native and Freemen hunters employed on a piece work basis.

Other skills of strategic importance to the orderly operation of the post that can be referred to as Country Skills include those

necessary for snowshoe, canoe, fish net and weir construction; maple sugar and soap manufacture; the operation of lime, charcoal and potash kilns; trappers, and horse and dog handlers; and woodworkers skilled in the production of wood tools indigenous to Rupert's land. Furthermore, an individual's position and importance within the Company was also enhanced by a diversity of skills.

Supplementing and sometimes overlapping these Country Skills were a range of skills more rooted in the European nature of the fur trade. These were skills utilized by tradesmen such as blacksmiths, coopers, sawyers and tailors. Literacy was also important, particularly for the officers. A number of categories of European tradesmen appear to have been of great importance to the fur trade. Some of these skills, in descending order of their importance and level of training, include: armourers or blacksmiths, boatbuilders, coopers, carpenters, tailors and sawyers (Table 1). In the case of the inland posts such as Brandon House, the services of coopers and tailors were the most common with boatbuilders, carpenters and sawyers generally being recruited from the more able of the labourers. A blacksmith was not supplied to Brandon House until the 1808-1809 trade season (HBCA, PAM B.22/a/16/5d). All repair and production of iron objects had to be accomplished at "exorbitant" rates through the Blacksmith employed by a competing company (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/15/10d).

Other skills only available through European training were those such as surgeons, ship navigators, surveyors and sloop masters. The final category of H.B.C. servant who relied upon European skills were the officers. As these men were responsible not only for trading, but also for maintaining the accounts, correspondence and the daily

journals, varying levels of literacy were required. Junior officers, accountants, clerks and writers possessed highly variable levels of literacy depending upon their personal background. At the lower end of this spectrum were literate or semi-literate former labourers who were placed in positions of some responsibility, particularly in the inland, in the event of a shortage of officers. If these men possessed sufficient literacy to maintain the records, and showed ability in trading and dealing with the competition, they could aspire for further upward mobility with increases in status, authority, responsibility and financial remuneration. Many Country Born sons of H.B.C. officers who had become literate either through training at their father's or patron's side, or who had been sent to Europe for an education, were also often given positions as junior clerks, writers or traders. Supplementing this locally available supply of clerks, the company also sent out young men or boys either from "Charity" schools in England or later young, educated Scots. These junior officers were engaged at low salaries on an apprenticeship basis in order to learn the H.B.C. organizational system. Through these years of training in a number of situations, they were groomed for promotion if they showed ability and/or through their patronage links with the more senior officers.

By this means, the H.B.C. developed a vertically integrated officer corps of varying levels of ability and experience. They achieved promotion through a combination of means that included an assessment of their abilities by superiors, the availability of other officers, and through patronage and kinship links. Supplementing this group were "Canadian" officers experienced in the Montreal trading companies' service. Particularly after the implementation of the 1810 Retrenchment

policy, young officers of Scottish and English descent and with experience in new accountancy and management techniques rooted in the British Industrial Revolution were recruited. These men, like their Canadian counterparts in the previous two decades, were parachuted into positions of authority over the heads of experienced, long-term officers who had risen through the ranks. The early career of Governor George Simpson is a case in point (Gailbraith 1976).

The interrelationships between and among this range of men of varying responsibilities, experience and skills formed a pyramidal formal hierarchy of authority and status that formed the organizational structure of the company. The shareholders of the Hudson's Bay Company elected a Governor and Committee from their ranks who had ultimate authority within the company. These men appointed a Chief Factor and council for each of the bayside factories in Rupert's land. Prior to the 1810 Retrenchment, these Chief Factors controlled the hinterland under their jurisdiction from the bayside factories, and delegated authority to individual Inland Masters who took charge of the regions controlled by individual inland posts. Each of these Inland Masters, depending upon the size and consequence of his trade posts, was allocated a group of men with which he was to carry out the trade for the season. By this means, each inland trade post was assigned a senior officer, sometimes one or more subordinate officers, a small number of senior labourers of great experience and ability, a group of Country Skilled men of lesser experience, tradesmen, and finally a group of manual labourers who could range from raw, untrained Orcadian youths, to relatively seasoned labourers. As noted previously, the size and makeup of this group could vary widely depending upon a number of variables, both in North America

and Europe.

This formal hierarchy, particularly in the small inland posts, appears to evince some internal flexibility depending upon a complex interrelation of factors. These factors and their implications through time form the central consideration of the following discussion.

THE BAY TRADITION

In a paper describing the alienation of young Country Born men in Red River after the 1821 Amalgamation, John E. Foster (1976) has described the hierarchy of traditional authority of the H.B.C. through a description of the Bay Tradition. This tradition was described as a "paternalistic hierarchy" rooted in the pre-Industrial Revolution traditions of the British household system (Foster 1976). While it is an "image of the British household tradition" it was also a reflection of the organizational structure of the company developed over 150 years of operation in North America.

In Foster's view, the basis of the Bay Tradition was rooted in the equation of authority and responsibility with a paternalistic authority figure. Ideally, this individual was a man of consequence: a gentleman. In keeping with the tradition of the household system, the head of an organization, both familial and corporate, was by necessity, a householder, landowner or family head. In the context of a male-dominated commercial institution, this person was given paternalistic authority in the same sense as an 18th century naval captain. Some of the symbols of this authority were implied by a man's position within the company, as a family head, his gentility and his social status. In the case of the Hudson's Bay Company, criteria that

signaled this status and authority were through better quality clothing, food and drink, separate sleeping quarters, freedom from manual labour, the right to establish marital alliances, and by being referred to with honourifics such as Mister or Master.

Also of primary importance for understanding the Bay Tradition, is that appointment to this gentleman-officer class was largely through internal promotion. One became a gentleman by becoming an officer (Foster 1976). Perhaps this status of gentility can be most usefully considered as one more of the labels that separated the officers from the labourers. This tradition of internal upward mobility served to help integrate the pyramidal hierarchy. In this sense, men who had made a long term commitment to service in the H.B.C. could have aspirations to rise from a manual labourer, to a position and status of boatsteerer, could work for appointment as an inland assistant or trader, or even strive for appointment as a post master or member of the factory council. While this internal mobility did have its integrative elements, the competition for promotion, varying levels of ability, the necessity for literacy, and nepotism created serious tensions as well.

The aspirations of some men to move upward in the company hierarchy into greater positions of authority and responsibility, (with its attendent increases of status), did not mean that all men sought after promotion. Such aspirations imply a long term commitment to life in Rupert's land, many years of service in junior positions in small, isolated inland posts, sufficient literacy, and kin or patronage links with senior officers who could be counted on to care for the interests of the protege in the council meetings.

John Nicks (1980) describes the Orcadian labourers who joined the

H.B.C. service as generally being young men between 18 and 20 years of age, of a rural background, and often from the families of tenant farmers, crofters, tradesmen or school masters. These men were often attracted to the H.B.C. service out of a sense of limited options at home, since the wages offered by the company were greater than those offered by Orcadian farmers (Nicks 1980:118). The service likely also appealed to the restless sons of the rural poor, and offered a chance for them to make and save money with which to return home with sufficient capital to buy land, or establish their own businesses. The ledger accounts of some of these men suggest that in some cases, the labourers were using service in the company as a means of escaping difficult financial or domestic situations, as there are references to the Orcadian wives of these men applying to the company for subsistence funds from their husband's accounts to avoid starvation. Some of these men may have seen the chances of upward mobility as a means of improving their lot financially and socially, and after long service in Rupert's land, they returned to Europe to live in comfortable retirement. Tradesmen who were recruited into the service seem to have been somewhat older, between 23 and 25 years of age, and likely were young men who completed their apprenticeship and went to North America for relatively short periods of time to earn sufficent money to enable them to return home and establish their own shops (Nicks 1980).

In many cases, labourers, after 20 to 30 years service in Rupert's land, likely had established Native families, were comfortable with the lifestyle in North America, had few remaining ties in Europe, and likely were not looking forward to retirement. In any case, the Orcadian employees generally chose service in the Hudson's Bay Company with an

eye to its financial remunerations in light of retirement to Europe. In this sense, they can be expected to have been more frugal in their expenditures, were less likely to establish long-term family commitments in North America, and would take more of a short term view in their wage negotiation strategies with the company. On the other hand, long term Orcadian employees who had lost interest in life in Europe, Country Born labourers whose roots were firmly entrenched in the H.B.C., and perhaps Canadian employees would have developed alternate strategies of financial management, may have had different attitudes regarding long term family committments, and would pursue long term strategies of wage negotiation. Furthermore, these men with one foot in the European sphere of the fort compound and one foot in the Native sphere of the fort plantation, may have had quite different views of the implications of being a servant in the Honourable Company. In a similar vein, Natives employed in the company might be more interested in being paid with trade goods than with having their wages credited to their account in the unknown or poorly understood London headquarters of the H.B.C.

Despite these divergent goals and motivations, the theme of upward mobility into the better paid categories of the senior labourers, or into the ranks of the officers, pervades the records of the company. However, in the London ledger books, the nuances of status and responsibility are poorly represented. The ledger books do indicate increases in financial remuneration that are directly tied to the value of the services of the individual, and can be viewed as a measure of the upward mobility of the employee. Such a measure, of course, must be used with due caution to distinguish other variables such as:

1) inflationary wage spirals;

2) institutionalized wage increases related to seniority; and

3) the individual using aggressive wage negotiation strategies rather than accepting what the company viewed as appropriate and fair.

The implications of this preoccupation with upward mobility will be considered in detail in a following chapter.

Chapter 6

H.B.C. LABOUR RELATIONS:
STRATEGIES FOR IMPROVING ONE'S LOT

The employer-employee relationship within the Hudson's Bay Company was complex and is very difficult to assess. This complexity was due to the diversity apparent within the employee ranks, the large scale of company operations, and the rapid rate of change during the period under study.

With the move inland in response to the increased scale of the "Canadian" fur trade operations, the Hudson's Bay Company, was forced to increase rapidly the labour intensive aspects of their operations. The most essential element affecting the inland trade network was the availability of a sufficient number of officers and labourers, and a good supply of trade goods and food to stock the inland posts.

The primary source of European labourers for the Company service was the Orkney Islands. However the increased demand for labourers, coupled with the limited supply of men due to European wars in the early 1790's, led to the inland officers being instructed to hire Canadians and Country Born men that they encountered near their inland stations (HBCA, PAM, A.6/15/98-98d). Maintaining an inland trade system required experienced officers and men; thus the company sought to keep experienced men in the service as long as possible. Usually new employees, particularly labourers, signed multi-year contracts at fixed wages. Subsequent contracts were usually of shorter duration and for significantly higher wage rates. Employees engaged in the inland service

were given added inducement in the form of Bounties for "inland residence" or "travelling" of L 2 per year, and a premium representing a percentage of the total fur yield from the inland post where each man was stationed. While these added inducements might seem small, their net effect could increase a labourer's annual wage from L 6 to upwards of 9 or 10 pounds sterling. Furthermore, with the increased difficulties in acquiring a sufficient supply of new European labourers, the officers were told in 1793 to send intractable men home only as a last resort, and fines were to be used as a means of punishment. Men of particularly high merit were sometimes awarded cash bonuses for their extraordinary services (HBCA, PAM, A.6/15/129d).

These policies in support of rapid inland expansion rapidly increased the number of company servants by the early 1790's. However, it also resulted in large numbers of young, untrained employees being stationed in the inland posts under the supervision of small groups of officers and senior labourers (i.e., with more than 5 years experience). Perhaps the coincidence of this high proportion of junior labourers with limited inland experience, and the violently aggressive nature of "Mad" Donald McKay contributed to the litany of labour relation problems reported in McKay's journal for the trade year of 1793-94 (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/1). McKay often wrote disparagingly of the aptitude, abilities and intelligence of the Orcadian employees, implying that the ethnicity of the men was the basis of their deficiency. A review of the employment history of the men under his command indicates that almost 60% of the men were low seniority labourers (Table 2). Furthermore, of a total of 11 such low senority men, at least 8 were spending their first winter inland (Table 2). Obviously many of McKay's complaints can be attributed

to the inexperience of these youths, and to McKay's violent temper.

The first priority of the Company in their dealings with their employees was to maintain as many men in Rupert's land as possible, as cheaply and for as long as possible. A second set of priorities was for the maintenance of discipline, and the control of private trade among their employees. Throughout the early part of the 1790's new European labourers within the company service were hired at 6 pounds sterling per year, generally for 5 year contracts.

The senior management of the company were keenly aware of the implications of men returning to Europe, particularly at a time when the widespread warfare in Europe made recruitment of new labourers very difficult. Consequently, in 1792 the London Committee instructed the Bayside officers to inform "useful" servants, who were considering returning to Europe, that the state of war made it probable that they would be "pressed" into military service upon their arrival (HBCA, PAM, A.6/15/54). Given the brutal conditions of the British military and naval services in the late 18th century, such warnings may have proved effective in inducing labourers to sign another contract for an additional term of service. This ploy was again used by the London Committee with the passage of the 1808 Local Mititia Bill in Britain (HBCA, PAM, A.6/17/150).

Political developments in Europe could also prove useful for the monetary aspirations of the labourers. With the continued war-induced shortage of men in Europe, the company was forced to offer a bounty to new recruits in 1805, 1807 and 1808 (HBCA, PAM A.6/17/29d, 94 and 124d). This practise also led to some men returning to Europe at the end of their contracts (at company expense) and immediately re-engaging in

order to receive the offered bounty (HBCA, PAM, A.6/17/125-125d). The Company was quick to respond with a plan to keep men in Rupert's land and to reduce the expense of transporting men to and from Europe.

> Feeling at the same time the importance of inducing men to remain in the Country and supposing that it is the lower description of our servants only that may be inclined to return from such motives, we authorize you to give a Bounty according to your discretion but in no case exceeding 12 Guineas to all our servants not receiving more than L 25 a year wages upon their entering into a new contract for 5 years... We hope this regulation will be satisfactory and enable you to retain in the service such persons whose services are desirable. It must prevent the Men coming home under the idle idea of obtaining a Bounty here and we hope it will have the benificial effect of retaining the men at their Inland Posts pursuing without interruption the Business of the Company (HBCA, PAM, A.6/17/125-125d).

This institutionalized increase in wages to men with seniority appears to have been exceeded, particularly in the cases of highly skilled men whose services were essential.

The 1793 General Letter to York Factory indicates that labourers sometimes attempted "collective" action in their contract renegotiations. The company response to such a development was predictable.

> In case of Combinations among the servants... we direct you to send such refractory servants home if their contracts are expired and the fine imposed on them by your council shall be duly observed by us and they shall never again be employed by us- encourage young hands and bring them forward as occasion may require as steersmen at the usual pay of L 15 to L 20 per annum, but you should studiously avoid that their contracts expire not all at the same time (HBCA, PAM A.6/15/63).

Apparently the London Committee perceived upward mobility within the ranks of the labourers as a means of disrupting such co-operative wage negotiation efforts.

The formal policy for the renegotiation of contracts serves to illustrate the lengths to which the London Committee went to control

wage increases. This procedure required that employees correspond with the London Committee through the senior officer in the Servant's Resolves Book the year prior to contract expiry. This correspondence outlined the conditions under which the employee would continue employment in Rupert's land. The London Committee considered the offer in light of information provided by the Bayside officers, and responded either by accepting the offer, by offering reduced wages, or by suggesting that the employee return to Europe. In the event that the employee's original offer was not accepted, he had the option in the final year of his contract to accept the London offer, or to return to Europe. This rather autocratic procedure met with limited success as the necessity of maintaining experienced men inland forced the Bayside officers to ignore the directives of their employers, and advance the wages of some valuable men who refused the offers made to them (HBCA, PAM, A.6/16/48d-49). The London Committee objected strenuously to such independent action and implied that the underlying motivation might be due to "partiality" or patronage.

Apparently, inland labourers were able to circumvent the established procedure of wage renegotiation by not sending their resolves the year prior to contract expiry. Consequently, on the year of expiry, the men were able to present their demands "at the factory, at ship time, with a threat that either their proposals shall be acceded to or they will return home" (HBCA, PAM, A.6/16/70d-71). As the large numbers of men employed by the company were often scattered at numerous isolated inland posts, and since the responsibility for initiating wage renegotiation rested with the employee, this pressure tactic was quite effective as the officers were often forced to agree to significantly

higher wages and shorter contracts. The implications of short contract periods at a time of labour shortage were not lost to anyone as noted in the 1803 London General letter.

> The little regard paid to our regulations respecting servants wages displeases us exceedingly, your engaging them at advance wages for 1 year has a very bad effect for from the high wages given by you they demand from us also still further advance. The case of William Ballandin is not a singular instance of it, it occurs frequently- Ballandin whose wages in 1801 were L 12, you agree with him to stay 1 year longer at L 18 he now demands from us L 22 per annum as if his last contract had been for L 18.- again Nicholas Folster desired to engage for 3 years at L 15 from 1801 and we agreed to it, but in the interim before our ship had arrived at Albany River, and you had received our instructions you had agree to give him L 18 for one year- but if Ballandin will not engage for 3 years at L 18 and Folster at L 15 let them both return- neither will we suffer any of our servants whatever who are or may be in future in the company's service in Hudson's Bay on renewing their contracts, to engage for a less term than 3 years, nor will any person in future have their wages advanced without a specific character of their respective abilities being inserted in the servants resolves to enable us in some degree to judge their merits. We are concerned to find so little respect paid to our repeated directives on this head; from which we have reason to conclude that after our General Letter be once read it is thrown by and thought no more of- for surely the above circumstance would not have taken place if the 14th and 15th paragraph of our General Letter 1799 had been adhered to. We then observed that you appear'd partial to an opinion that some discretionary power ought to be lodged in the Chief Factor for advancing Men's Wages occasionally, but it did not meet with our concurrence and we expected the terms proposed to be referred to us for our approbation, and it is probable we might sometimes accede to them- but we shall never comply with what we conceive to be exorbitant demands. We also observed that when servants proposed to have their wages increased they generally propose terms when at the Factory, at ship time, accompanied by a threat that either their proposals shall be acceded to or they will return home; this is mere tricking and we directed you to discountenance it- let them send their proposals from their inland stations to the chief at the Factory who will communicate the same to us by the return of the ship the following year, they will have their option either to continue in the service or to quit it, so that by those means you would (have) their services one year longer until our determination was known (HBCA, PAM, A.6/16/157d,158,158d).

The inflexible attitude of the London Committee towards "Bayside discretionary powers", and their failure to grasp the vast distances and

logistical problems that characterized the inland trade system, forced the Bayside officers to continue to ignore the repeated orders to refer all wage increases to London for approval. If the men refused inland service until they knew the status of their new contracts, the delay entailed in getting this approval could severely affect the inland service. Consequently, as long as the supply of new servants was limited, the upward spiral in wages continued.

Collective or cooperative action seems to also have been used by the Orcadian employees to manage the availability of new recruits for the company service. The 1805 General Letter from the London Committee discusses this development and outlines measures to combat it.

> We are fully informed of the combination that prevails in the Orkney's between the men formerly in our service as well as those who are now actually in our employ and their relatives and friends with the view of preventing our being supplied with the number of hands wanted for our service with the intention of obliging our chiefs to raise the wages of the men who are in the service at an exorbitant rate. We are likewise aware of the malicious tricks that are played by our opponents in order to discredit our service and prevent our getting the necessary annual supply of useful hands to pursue our business with <success> you may however depend on our exerting our utmost and that we shall by every resource either by Natives or Foreigners to break that combination among the people in the Orkneys as well thwart the malicious and interested views of our opponents (HBCA, PAM, A.6/17/32d).

This process of labour diversification to break the "combinations" of Orcadians in Rupert's land and Europe met with limited success until well into the 1810's after the implementation of the "Retrenchment Policy".

Such large-scale cooperative efforts on the part of the men mark only a small part of the range of "collective" tactics used by the labourers to enhance their wages and improve their working conditions in the inland posts. Perhaps the most commonly cited example of these

actions involves the ration of alcohol distributed to the men while "tripping" by boat between the inland posts and the bayside factory. Donald McKay, in his 1793-94 Brandon House Journal (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/1), often complained that the labourers under his charge refused to work at the speed he wished without alcohol in excess of the usual allocation. These grog gifts were usually given in appreciation for extraordinarily hard labour, to celebrate the completion of a particular phase of work, to commemorate holidays, or in lieu of sufficient quantities of food. Officers were often pressured by the men to give additional "treats" of grog. This pressure could take several forms.

1) Gift giving to the men on an Officer's part in keeping with his status and consequence as a "gentleman of property" (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/1/3).

2) Through the men establishing and maintaining informal traditions to mark the successful completion of phases of journeys by toasting their arrival at specific landmarks (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/21/8d).

3) The pressing necessity to get to their destination as rapidly as possible made deliberate attempts to slow the rate of progress an effective means of getting grog treats to induce the men to work faster (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/1/5, 5d, 6d, 7, 7d, 26d, 27).

4) In an attempt to induce or "bribe" the men to forget their "disobedient and ill-natured" attitudes towards their work and superiors (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/1/6, 23).

In Donald McKay's view, the men were using their work effectiveness to force him to provide them with extra gifts of alcohol. The London Committee who read his reports of the men's behavior, perceived these actions as a demand for "bribes" to carry out regular duties (HBCA, PAM, A.6/15/129d). McKay seems to have considered these pressure tactics as one more example of the unsuitability of Orcadians for the inland service in light of the superior abilities of the Canadian voyageurs.

John Sutherland, who was McKay's assistant and also a former labourer, had a somewhat different perspective regarding the men and their actions. Because of his personal background and sympathy with the labourers, he was in a better position to acknowledge the extremely arduous labour of tripping, rowing, portaging and dragging loaded boats over the water routes.

> Sept. 28,1793 Sat: Went 10 miles, should water, nothing to serve to the men now but flour, I am sure my worthy employers never meant to make their riches at the expense of Humanity, although I make no doubt some from Canada does by the foolishness of poor people (HBCA, PAM, B.63/a/1/11d).

The grumbling and dissatisfaction of the labourers seems much more understandable when one realizes that these untrained men had been rowing the batteaux for the irascible Donald McKay into unknown territory from July 30 until October 7 of 1793. As the season advanced, food ran short, and the waters of the Assiniboine River got shallower and colder. The men had to wade upstream while dragging the heavily laden boats all day long with very little progress being evident. The desperation of the men after wading in freezing water for 8 to 10 hours with little food and rest is readily apparent in Sutherland's sparse commentary.

> Sept. 19,1793 Thur: lead the boats 7 miles, the men is really wearly <sic, weary> of this long and bad journey, none would be surprised at this if they know what we are suffering on this occasion, should water, provisions little, hard labour and cold weather is very discouraging for any man (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/1/10d-11).

Perhaps the difficult conditions induced the labourers to use alcohol ostensibly to recover their strength and body warmth after hours in the water, but perhaps more likely to numb a weary mind and body prior to going to bed after an inadequate evening meal. Donald McKay, who was not sharing in this labour, who refused to increase their

rations, and who begrudged them the grog they felt that they deserved, would be the butt of their dissatisfaction and resentment. On the other hand, McKay would have felt a need to conserve the quantity of alcohol to assure its availablity for trade purposes. The only means of inducing McKay to relent in his decision to cut the quantity of grog and rations was to limit the level of hard labour that they felt entitled them to the extra ration.

In 1796, James Sutherland also had occasion to comment on the collective pressure tactics employed by the "Red River men" against their superiors. As with the case of McKay, Sutherland found that the distribution of alcohol to the boat crews was perceived by the men as a right rather than a privilege. There seems to be a strong correlation between hard labour in the boats and the receipt of alcohol implicit in many of the journal entries. For example, James Sutherland wrote that upon the arrival of the boats at Brandon House; "several of the men lame particularly about the thigh and privies owing to so much wading in the water, gave them a Bottle a mess as they had been 4 days without" (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/4/11d).

The importance of brandy and rum for the Red River trade, coupled with alcohol shortages due to the European war (HBCA, PAM, A.6/16/25), and the large quantities of alcohol consumed by the boat crews (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/6), led the Albany Chief Factor to inform the labourers that grog allocations were to be discontinued. Apparently, he was less than optimistic that his directive would be obeyed as he wrote that, while the men left the meeting

> ...without complaints..; if this regulation is not observed at the other factories in the Bay the event will give dissatisfaction and Albany a bad name <with the men> for I believe the men from <here> go further herefrom and their labour

> more severe than any servants from any of your Honour's factories in Hudsons Bay (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/4/39d).

The practice of distributing alcohol to the men was considered by the laborers to be an informal benefit or additional reward in keeping with the arduous nature of the inland service. This is further supported by John McKay's justification for handing out Mess Bottles.

> Nov 19, 1802:... Favill, Esson and Peter Wick came home with meat and Furs, they had a very bad journey the horses not being able to walk in such a bad country, I gave them Mess Bottles its the custom here when Men go to Tents to give them a Dram when they start, and a pint of grogg when they return (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/10/5d).

The labourers also appear to have attempted to maintain favourable working conditions through cooperative efforts and enforced solidarity. For example, James Sutherland wrote in 1796 that the boatmen in his charge refused to work longer than the standard work day despite his remonstrances, and offers of grog.

> Aug 19,1796 Friday:... put up rather <too> soon I wanted the people to work to take advantage of the good weather for which reason they got 3 pints of grogg per man, they will only work however as they please what a hairey crew these Red River Men are (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/4/8d).

Sutherland had several occasions to remark on the lengths his men would take to enforce some measure of collective control over other men willing to cooperate with officers who requested labour above and beyond that which they considered normal.

> Aug 21,1796 Sun:... Self slept at the further end of the carrying place, the man who sleeps in my Tent was grumbled at by the rest for carrying a parcel with him when came to sleep. NB I only insert this to show how these men are bound together as a knot, to study only their own interest and to oppose command, I never had occasion to observe the like before (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/4/9).

Despite the ludicrous aspects of the labourers "grumbling at" a fellow labourer for carrying a parcel over the portage after the end of the work day even though he had to make the trip to get to his tent, the

incident must be placed in the context of other events that occurred during the trip. Earlier that month, Sutherland had noted that the men had objected to him insisting on travelling late in the day rather than establishing camp for the evening (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/4/7d). Furthermore, he also had an argument with and was the subject of "very impertinant language" from the men for insisting that they launch the boats into Lake Winnipeg during a rainstorm (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/4/10). Apparently travelling in inclement weather and attempting the extremely dangerous crossing of the south end of Lake Winnipeg during a rain storm sparked strenuous objections on the part of the boatmen. While Sutherland was a highly experienced officer, it was his first trip into the Red River area and he was likely unaware of the dangers of Lake Winnipeg. It would appear that the incident of the overzealous labourer at the portage must be considered as one more of several incidents that were perceived by the men as an attempt by the officer to get extra labour out of men who had already put in a long, strenuous day.

A final illustration of the power of collective action wielded by the labourers are several instances whereby the men refused to serve under specific officers or with fellow labourers. In the latter case, some of the labourers, anticipating their incompatibility with a fellow labourer (a steersman), refused to serve in the same posting with the offending party (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/16/2). Such tactics were not limited to monitoring fellow labourers as in 1797 the Red River Men, with the exception of John and Thomas Richards, refused to serve at an outpost along the Pembina River under the leadership of a recently recruited French Canadian officer named Mr. Ricette. When John McKay, who had recruited the officer in question, enquired after their reasons, the men

responded by pointing out that

> they did not know him, neither did they understand French, I told them John Richards understood Mr. Ricette very well and as he was going as his assistant would be the man whom they got their orders. They said that did not signify, they would not go with him, but any other man that I would appoint they should not object. I then called all hands and asked them (for ordering them is out of the question) if there was not 5 men amongst them all that would go, they all refused except Tom Richards (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/5/5).

It is interesting to note that the two men who agreed to serve under Ricette were the Richards brothers, two Country Born men of great experience who were likely in the best position to assess Ricette's unquestioned qualifications and experience as a trader.

Clearly, the Orcadian labourers retained no small prejudice against French Canadian (or Roman Catholic) officers despite the fact that they were serving with French Canadian labourers. Perhaps the fact that Ricette spoke no English, and as his qualities as a leader and trader were unknown to the men, they rejected him.

A second example of the men refusing to serve under a specific officer is even more difficult to understand. In the spring of 1806 John McKay, who had suffered from several illnesses through the previous two years, wrote that he had arrived late at Martin's Fall with his spring brigade to find that the Chief Factor had appointed Thomas Vincent as master at Brandon House in his stead for the following year (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/13/17). McKay left the impression that the appointment of Vincent was the function of the late arrival of the Brandon House brigade under his direction. However, a review of the 1807 General Letter to the Albany Factor and Council suggests that much more is reflected by the change of leadership than meets the eye.

> we cannot avoid expressing on this occasion our regret that any conduct either on the part of Mr. John McKay or of his men should

> have induced them to determine not to return inland with him, this refractory conduct may we fear be of very great detriment to the service and we are anxious to learn by your next Journals that all animosity has ceased and that hand and heart are employed on all sides for the general prosperity of the company. We have long known the value of Mr. McKay's services and hope that every conciliatory disposition on this side will continue to increase that good opinion we have had occasion to entertain of his services (HBCA, PAM, A.6/17/96).

The animosity referred to by the London Committee is not noted in McKay's journal for that year, nor does he make any reference to his men refusing to serve under him. The suggestion that McKay had a serious confrontation with his men is even more difficult to accept since many of the men who served that year worked under his supervision long before and long after 1806. Perhaps the men's alleged refusal to serve under McKay's direction relates to his illness. That is, given this serious illness, the men were unprepared to risk a second winter if McKay's mysterious illness should return.

While collective pressure tactics were generally much more effective than individual action, several men very effectively forced officers to accept their demands on the basis of the fact that the officers could not dispense with their skills. One such example was the case of Louis Jollycoeur, a Country Skilled French Canadian employee, who demanded the right to maintain a woman within the post as he had done previously (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/6/8d). Goodwin does not write whether he eventually gave his sanction to Jollycoeur's domestic arrangements, but a subsequent incident serves to illustrate the influence that such men could exert upon the officers.

> Nov. 19,1798 Monday:... Thomas Richards, Louis Jollycoeur and John Esson gone to the Moose hill <Brandon Hills> and tent out. Jollycoeur wanted a kettle in debt, I told him I had none to spare for <from?> the trade, he answered and said if I would not let him have one he would go to the french house and buy one for his money. he says what is ye use of money to him, if he cannot

> get what he wants, sooner than he go to them I at last let him have one and charged it to his debt, he left Mr. McKay last year for several days and perhaps he might serve me the same ... (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/6/9d).

The prospect of camping out in a hunting tent in mid November without a vessel to heat food and water obviously did not appeal to Jollycoeur, so he attempted to purchase the needed item from the Company stores. Goodwin's refusal to make the sale sparked a predictable reaction given the availability of an alternative source of supply of goods. The officer's comment about Jollycoeur's desertion the previous year was likely calculated to offer an explanation for his threat to deal with a competitor. From Goodwin's perspective, Jollycoeur's behavior in light of his desertion implied that he was unreliable and was only peripherally attached to the Hudson's Bay Company service. It is also interesting to note that John McKay, the officer in charge of the post at the time of Jollycoeur's desertion, made no reference to it in his journal. Perhaps, Goodwin blew up the desertion incident out of perspective. Another possibility is that Jollycoeur left the service over an unnamed confrontation that McKay felt was not in his best interest to air in a document destined to be read by his superiors. If the latter was the case, the fact that Jollycoeur returned to the service in a few days, and pressured McKay's replacement to allow him to support a woman and to purchase a kettle from the scanty stock of trade goods might lead one to assume that the Canadian was highly effective in his tactics.

The tactic of threatened desertion to apply pressure upon an officer in a confrontational situation seems to have been, while not regularly used, certainly not uncommon. In the winter of 1796-97, a series of such events plagued James Sutherland. The incident started

with a dispute between himself and a labourer named Jacob Henderson over the latter's failure to collect firewood for the night watch. The issue quickly became a confrontation as Sutherland " ordered him <to get the wood> and when I told him of his lazy disposition, he dammed me, as he refused I ordered 2 other men... to get it" (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/4/17d). The issue simmered for several days with Henderson "persisting in his obstinacy" and "denying doing any more duty about the house" (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/4/12d). Sutherland's response was two-fold (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/4/17d).

1) He did not give Henderson work to do and, presumably, denied him rations for the days not worked.

2) He wrote to Mr. McDonell of the North West Company, informing him not to "have anything to say" to Henderson.

Five days after the original dispute, Henderson deserted the service and fled to the "Canadians" (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/4/17d). Sutherland responded with the following letter to Mr. John McDonell, the master of the nearby North West Company post.

> Jacob Henderson has deserted to you I have before acquainted you and again request that you may not harbor him in your House, his intentions as I can learn is to get to the American states by your canoes next spring, I learn that Pellic under pretence of being independent of your company is to harbor him in his house, this will not be admitted as an excuse, as I look upon every individual under your roof to be dependent on the Company, it is true you may do as you please on this head as being independent of us, but I should be sorry that such a worthless being as the subject of this should be the means of laying the foundations of any misunderstanding between us more especially as the harboring of a discontented servant may be retailiated in future as we have had many opportunities of (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/4/17d-18).

Sutherland further noted that Henderson's desertion was not through ill usage but, in his words,

> ... on the contrary too lenient treatment of the men in general and him in particular as being a poor soldier who I thought deserved more pity than chastisement as being unable to work in the station he is engaged in (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/4/18d-19).

Sutherland's labour problems became even more serious the following day with the discovery that Thomas Richards had deserted with his belongings and a child dependent. This Country Born man was one of Sutherland's most important hunters and traders. Sutherland noted that Richards had

> ... been hunting yesterday but got nothing, did not even desire him to work this day, he visited the Canadians this day who I supposed with Henderson infused their poisonous talk in to the ears of the ignorant man and caused him to desert, I am almost afraid to order some of these men to do the ordinary domestic duties of the House for fear of their abandoning themselves and deserting to the Canadians, who is using every means to debauch our men, but particularly the ignorant who can't see an inch before their noses (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/4/19).

The climate of discontent quickly affected other dissatisfied men such as John Easter. He, upon arriving from a trading trip, learned of the desertions of Henderson and Richards, and commented that he might follow their example (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/4/19). An alarmed James Sutherland wrote that:

> I am deprest on every hand by the discontents of the people, John Easter, although a Exqumaux and the Company's Slave, hearing of the desertion of Henderson and Richards is muttering of following their example says he has no wages, can get nothing of his wants and necessaries, is proffer'd great wages from the Canadians - I have flattered him and given so much as is in my power with propriety to supply his wants and given him a quart of Brandy yet it avails nothing to go to riggor with him I am loath, his ignorance get the better of his reason. I have been obliged therefor to lock the gates which has been only barried for some time, that he may not desert on the night (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/4/19, 19d).

The ethnic origin and employment status of John Easter is difficult to assess and will be discussed at length below.

The desertion of a common labourer of Henderson's sort was a matter of concern; however, the desertion and threatened desertion of such Country Skilled men as Thomas Richards and John Easter required

immediate action. Sutherland, backed by four men, went to the North West Company House and seized Richards, brought him back to Brandon House, and placed him in detention. Sutherland commented that the venture was carried out with no small risk as

> had I not taken him suddenly the Canadians was determined to assist him (Richards), in this adventure I run a risque as he grasp't his cutlass and had he but warning, was determined to run me through before he was taken (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/4/19d).

Sutherland later confronted Richards in a conciliatory manner, apparently in an attempt to resolve this labour crisis.

> On coming to his sences I expostulated with him and ask't him in a quiet manner his reasons for such behavior. He told me he did not know that he had any wages nor ever signed a contract: when he ask't the chief <Factor> at Martin's Fall what footing he stood on, he never received a direct but evasive answer, nor could get the necessaries he wanted, but was put by from time to time, and from place to place and no notice taken of him and that the Canadians had offered him great encouragement.
>
> I told him to return to his duty and all these things should be settled to his satisfaction on his next meeting with the Chief at the Fall he then agreed to give me no further trouble and gave me his hand he would not desert any more which has also put Easter off the thought of deserting- I must own these men are badly fitted out in their wants notwithstanding I have given them almost half my outfit to cloath them etc. as they could not worth get a knife at the fall and all my power cannot keep them from trading jackets, trowsers etc. from the Canadians in a clandestine manner (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/4/19d).

On this note, Thomas Richards was released and he brought his belongings home from McDonell's House with a note from Jacob Henderson who expressed:

> ... a desire to return to his duty if I would forgive what was past, and permit him to go out a tenting with Tom Richards, I agreed to this on condition of his future good behavior and accordingly for my part forgive him, notwithstanding I leave the whole affair upon record, that the Honourable Proprietors may see what trouble is with their servants now besides what it was formerly.
>
> He accordingly returned in the evening with all his things, and did not hesitate to tell me that he despised the customs and manners of the Canadians whose ways more resembled savages than christians... gave the men a pint of grogg and they salooted me with 3 cheers (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/4/20).

This issue serves to illustrate several important points. Despite McDonnell's protestations to the contrary, it would appear that the North West Company at least encouraged dissatisfied H.B.C. employees with offers of high wages. While McDonnell certainly had no shortage of Canadian employees, it would be well worth his while to encourage the desertion of H.B.C. men as it would weaken the competitive ability of the H.B.C. posts.

It is also clear that the H.B.C. policy of contract renegotiation through the London Committee created no small measure of uncertainty and dissatisfaction among inland servants such as Thomas Richards. The delays in contract renegotiation and poorly developed channels of communication resulted in some men working for several years without knowing what wages they were employed at. Furthermore, the practise of redeploying labourers from one station to another on a short term basis made it difficult for the men to plan their short term futures, assure the safety of their belongings, and to provide for their dependents. The logistical problems of providing sufficient supplies of clothing, tools, food and luxury goods to the H.B.C. employees also appears to have been a sore point.

Sutherland also implied that these labour problems were a recent development. This offers the suggestion that the inland expansion disrupted the service, whereby servants were being forced to take strong measures and even desert the service to have them resolved. Alternatively, many officers likely took the view proposed by Donald McKay that the labourers were taking advantage of the inland situation to extort bribes to do their duty. Furthermore, Sutherland's comment that he left the whole issue "on the record" would suggest that it was

not unheard of for an officer to edit the final copy of his journal that was destined for the London Committee. This possibility is significant as it implies some latitude on the part of the officers to "clean up" the record of events happening at the posts in a fashion that might protect the position of particular individuals. It also serves as a note of caution to the modern reader of the journal accounts who read these potentially selective records of activities.

The reconciliation of Thomas Richards and Jacob Henderson with the company seems to have satisfied John Easter for only a short time. In April of 1797, Easter again brought the issue of his lack of salary to the attention of James Sutherland.

> April 20,1797, Thurs:... Easter denied going to work this morning, said he was not paid for working, had no wages, was not paid for his hunting as last year, was used like a slave etc. The people, together with the Canadians is poisioning the morals of this simple fellow, and too mild treatment is spoiling him, as I do not like to use him rough for fear of his deserting to the Canadians who are gasping with open mouths to receive any of our discontented servants can scarcely get the domestic duties of the place done by the people in general all casting up that the Canadian service now is become preferable should any desert, I should be distrest in getting out the craft (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/35d-36).

Sutherland, faced with Easter's work stoppage and fearing his possible desertion, was forced to give him "a present to get him to return to his duty" (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/4/36). Apparently this "present" was considered to be a suitable salary, and Easter returned to work (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/4/36). The issue of Easter's lack of salary was resolved by the Albany Chief Factor, who wrote in the 1799 Servant's Resolves Book that Easter had become "a valuable servant" (HBCA, PAM, A.30/9/3d-4), and the London Committee agreed to contract him formally for L 8 per year for 5 years in 1798 (HBCA, PAM, A.16/6/42).

While Easter was consistantly referred to as the "Esquamaux Slave"

in the List of Servants (HBCA, PAM, A.30/3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8), with no salary and a contract for life, it is uncertain whether he was considered to be a true slave. Perhaps his arrival at Albany in 1784 was as a recently acquired Inuk war captive in the hands of a local Cree band who traded him to an H.B.C. servant. In any case, he appears to have spent his early years as a dependent of the Albany Department, and developed Country Skills as he grew to be a young man. This possibility is given added credence since Sprague and Frye (1983) list him as being born in 1779; suggesting that he might have been as young as 5 years old in 1784 when he first appeared in the Albany accounts. In spite of his uncertain status and age, his complaint that he did not have a salary must be considered more closely. The nature of the H.B.C. inland accounting system seems to have been rather flexible. Casual and noncontracted workers seem to have been paid for their services with trade goods and, presumably, the cost of these goods were then simply debited from the accounts as "costs of conducting the trade". An example of this rather loosely structured accounting system is illustrated in Table 3. The rather large amount of goods debited from the record under the heading "expenses" likely includes costs that could include payment of Native hunters employed on a piece work basis, gifts to Indians, informal gratuities to employees, and payment of non-contracted labourers. This means of paying badly needed short-term or non-contract labourers appears to have been commonly used to pay Native and Country Born workers who had no concept of, or use for, credit accounts in Europe. What such individuals were likely interested in were scarce European goods of immediate use and no small resale value.

By the same token, the H.B.C. officers who developed informal work

arrangements with such men could avoid the regulations imposed upon them for contracting labourers. Furthermore, this informal system of hiring would have provided a means of short-term hiring for boat crews or to supplement the men at the winter stations. Consequently, individuals such as Nowekeizick, an Indian worker for John McKay at Lac La Pluis and Brandon House (HBCA, PAM, B.105/a/2/2, B.105/a/3, B.105/a/4, B.22/a/5), supplemented the supply of labourers and were conveniently paid with trade goods. John Easter likely also spent the first 14 years of his "service" in the company in a similar fashion by receiving his "salary" in trade goods and/or by building a debt with the company that was eventually forgiven. Perhaps this arrangement broke down when:

> 1) Easter failed to be paid in goods for his services as had previously occurred;
>
> 2) Easter became exposed to a new perspective of the value of labour through his contact with other labourers, and he demanded equal treatment with them; or
>
> 3) Easter sought equal social status with the other labourers by demanding formal payment for his services.

It is evident that throughout much of his early career, Easter did not perceive a need for a formal salary, and was content to be "informally paid" with goods. This strategy forms a marked contrast to that of most employees, and continued to reflect Easter's attitude towards the H.B.C. service even after he received his first contract. This issue will be discussed at length below.

The problems that James Sutherland encountered in the 1796-97 trade season were somewhat new to him and he offered the following explanation for the actions of the men.

> April 23,1797 Sunday:... performed Divine Service I believe for the first time at Brandon House, with one of Tillatson's Sermons (which however is not fit for this country)- I am of opinion that a due observance of the Sabbath, and religion inculcated both by

> precept and example has a great influence on the morals of the common people; and I may say in particular the servants in this country, But I am sorry to observe that it cannot be attended to at this place, which I think is one principle cause of the discontents and disobedience which at present reigns among the people in this River in particular as well on the establishment in general, for it is almost a certainty that a pious religious man is sure to make a good servant, but instead of men of this description, with concern I say it, I never have seen since I have been in the Country a set of more irreligious, Ignorant men than those at present in the service, which must be owing to their Ignorant way of bringing up, and scarcly ever hearing the word of God mentioned in this country except in a blasphemous manner (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/4/36).

Whether one accepts Sutherland's view of the moral decay of the labourers, or the view that the latter were protecting themselves and enhancing their living and working conditions, it is apparent that the threat of work stoppage was a very useful tool. Officers who were unable to supply their men with sufficient food were often subjected to "insolent speech" and difficulties in getting men to work (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/1/7). The Brandon House labourers also seem to have used threats of work stoppage to assure that food would not be rationed as James Sutherland noted in 1796.

> Dec 6,1796 Tue: Easter and one man a hunting. The green <fresh> meat being done and Piece meat dearly bought, I wanted to be as frugal of it as possible by adopting the York Fort Inland Allowance which is 10 lbs per mess, but this they refused all following the example of Thomas Work, Robert Robinson and James Yorston as I could not dispence with their work I was obliged to submit and continue letting them have it at no allowance as before, in which there is great abuse and much waste, what a pity that a stated allowance was not adopted here as well as at York Settlements as well as many other regulations, which does credit that establishment (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/4/22d).

No doubt the men felt that they should not be denied unlimited bison meat as the Indians were bringing in large quantities of partially dried meat for sale. The question of ration allocation continued to be an issue of concern for the men with John McKay's attempts to supplement scarce supplies of meat with fish in 1804.

> Aug 1,1804: Nump <Humphrey Favel> brought home 100 fish, 2 men will not work unless I give them meat. I told them as the meat was so little I would give them none while I could get fish. Inkster swore he would be dammed but I should. I give them meat and they went to work. This is very pretty, if these fellows is allowed to point out to the Master, what kind of victuals he is to procure for them, I suppose they think the fish comes too cheap, as I get them for nothing. as cheap as they are, there is only Nump and Easter in the house of the men that knows how to get them. It would be well if the Chief would fix a regular allowance of meat to be served out to the men, this abuse of victuals then, would be at an end (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/12/3).

By August 29th the meat supply was exhausted and the men were forced to eat fish to supplement the supply of potatoes (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/12/4d). However, 4 days later when H.B.C. hunters arrived at the post with fresh meat, the men again refused the fish (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/12/4d).

Another contentious issue that coloured labour relations within the H.B.C. service concerned the price and availability of equipment, clothing and other goods purchased by employees from the company stores. These goods or "slops" (5) were usually supplied at cost price to the employees, however, the company was hard pressed to provide these items in sufficient quantities to supply all of the men in the interior posts. Furthermore, the London Committee had some reservations about supplying the men with too wide a range of goods for fear that they might use them in a private trade network with Natives or Canadians (HBCA, PAM, A.6/15/128). To combat such traffic, they threatened to raise the price of such goods so that it would no longer be profitable to deal in the private trade. The company also periodically attempted to raise the price of these goods to that which reflected the cost of purchase and transportation to Rupert's land. In at least one such instance, protests from Rupert's land resulted in a rollback of the increases (HBCA, PAM, A.6/17/68d, 156).

With the increased scale of the inland trade system, it would

appear that the H.B.C. faced increased difficulties in supplying their employees with "necessaries". The Red River Men appear to have been particularly poorly supplied, and the lack of goods seems to have been one of several grievances that led to Thomas Richards' desertion in 1796 (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/4/19d). Furthermore, in order to make up the shortfall of slops, the officers were regularly forced to outfit their men with cloth and goods at the expense of the trade store supply (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/4/13). The implications of such a situation were discussed by James Sutherland.

> Sept 24,1796 Sat:... finished selling <the men> cloth etc etc for their clothing, It may be judged what 28 men will require to cloath them, scarcely having a Blanket to their bed, shirt or Jacket to their backs, but what has been taken out of this outfit, which has left me only 4 pieces of Cloth and 5 Blankets in the house to trade with Indians, Had the men got their necessaries at Marten's fall as they ought to have done, the outfit could been kept whole for the trade and come here not as cargoe but in their own lumber bags... (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/4/13d).

Several other sources of supply existed for the H.B.C. labourers. The men could send orders for goods to London to be filled and shipped back on the company ships, they could have goods sent to them by their European relatives, or they could make purchases from better supplied company stores that were visited while boating to and from the Martin's Fall rendezvous. The men left inland for the summer also had the option of making informal arrangements with friends and associates in the boat crews to purchase goods at Martin's Fall on their behalf. The short supply of goods sometimes made these sources rather unreliable as Robert Goodwin pointed out.

> Oct 14,1798 Sun:... we shall be very short of cloth and the men are almost all naked that stayed in the summer, they sent for some by Mr. McKay could not be had at the falls which disappoints them much and complains its very hard when staying all summer Inland and then to be disappointed (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/6/5d).

Clearly, the men left inland for the summer were particularly vulnerable to short supplies of goods which might have contributed to the reluctance expressed by many men to remain inland. The unreliability of the supply system for the men forced them to pursue several approaches that the officers and the London Comittee frowned upon. Two such approaches were the aggressive tactics used by Louis Jollycoeur to acquire his kettle, and threats of desertion or work stoppage used by Thomas Richards and John Easter.

In addition to these methods of supply, the men appear to have resorted to private trade with the Canadians to supplement their supply of personal gear. At least two types of private trade seem to have affected the H.B.C. Rupert's land operations. The first approach likely was a highly organized underground system whereby the London Committee suspected that individual employees were using "slops" purchased from the company at cost price to trade furs from Indians and Canadians which, in turn, were smuggled aboard company ships to be sold clandestinely in the London fur market (HBCA, PAM, A.6/5/128). The London Committee, noting the quantity of cloth and blankets sold to the men, assumed that these goods were used in this private trade network, and consequently moved to raise the price of slops to make the activity no longer cost effective.

Another measure likely taken to stop the flow of clandestinely acquired furs was to search the belongings and beds of servants returning to Europe (HBCA, PAM, A.6/16/92) and to monitor the parcels and mail of the servants sent to and from Europe (HBCA, PAM, A.6/15/6d). While very little evidence exists of the scale of this form of private trade, or even if many employees were involved in it, at least one

company sea captain was caught smuggling furs to Europe and was dismissed from the service, and thinly veiled warnings were issued to the inland masters and men (HBCA, PAM, A.6/16/116d).

A second level of private trade seems to have been widespread in the inland, and consisted of informal private trade arrangements between individual H.B.C. labourers and individual Canadian labourers to exchange excess items for scarse ones. This was particularly apparent when the Hudson's Bay Company men were poorly outfitted and their only source of supply was from the Canadians (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/4/19d). In addition to bartering goods with the Canadians, the London Committee also suspected the labourers, particularly the skilled hunters, of selling furs and other produce to the Canadian traders (HBCA, PAM, A.6/17/95d, 96). This development is not particularly surprising as the London Committee only reluctantly permitted officers to pay the labourers for furs acquired on their own time from their trap lines. This reluctance stemmed from a fear that such entrepreneurial activities might distract the labourers from their routine activities and detrimentally affect the operation of the posts (HBCA, PAM, A.6/17/68). As a consequence, the officers were warned to carefully assure that the allowance for furs collected in leisure hours did not distract the men from their contractual obligations (HBCA, PAM, A.6/17/93-93d).

The problem of offering payment for produce acquired by employees and their dependents, and assuring that these goods did not find their way into the private trade system, seems to have been solved by the officers and traders exchanging furs for trade goods (HBCA, PAM, A.6/15/6d). While the journal entries for Brandon House seldom mention this activity, some references to labourers bringing in the produce of

their traps and hunting do survive (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/11/4). Native women and children were also paid on a piece work basis for the many duties carried out by them in the compound and plantation. Such duties included acting as interpreters (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/5/30d, processing hides for leather, making footwear and snowshoes (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/6/4d, B.22/a/7/8d), hauling and preparing meat (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/5/30d, B.22/a/9/28d), guiding travellers (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/12/4), fishing (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/12/4d), logging (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/13/8), and "lifting bark" (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/13/1d). Furthermore, the Country Skilled hunters also appear to have been given an extra gratuity for their efforts which was perceived as extra payment for labour above and beyond regular duties. The rationale for such gratuities was outlined by James Sutherland in the context of suggesting that heavy bore firearms should be sent inland for the use of H.B.C. employees so that they might

> hunt the Buffalo and which would save Expenses in hiring Indians for that purpose and that a small reward was allow'd them as an encouragement to hunt such as a half pint of Brandy or something adequate for every Beast a Man killed, this would raise a emulation in the men, and be much more profitable in the end than hiring Indians (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/4/27d).

While it does not appear that a formal policy for extra payment to labourers for their hunting was established, in 1816 Peter Fidler described an informal system.

> The average quantity of ammunition allowed a hunter is 4 Balls and 4 loads of Powder for each animal he kills, if he uses more it is charged to his account; but this very seldom happens, and they in general are able to lay up a small stock for themselves (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/19/18d).

Other attempts to use collective action to protect or expand informal benefits include the issue of the allocation of shoe leather to the labourers. It would appear that men embarking on trips on behalf of

the company were supplied with leather free of charge (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/6/17d, B.22/a/8/7). This arrangement required large quantities of leather, all of which had to be purchased from Indian hunters (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/6/17d, B.22/a/8/13d, B.22/a/10/7). In 1803 John McKay commented upon this consumption of leather, and noted the reaction he received from the labourers when he suggested that they be more frugal in its use.

> I never heard tell of so much leather used in any part of the Country as in this place. Mr. Millar gives me an account of 58 Moose Skins used at his place since last fall, what must have been used at this place since last fall? Why it must be enourmous<. If> each man got so much Leather and no more for the winter, I will give my word on quarter of the Shoes would not be used. When there is a little hole on their shoes, or a little hard by getting wet, its thrown away, and another pair demanded, if you find fault with this carelessness, the answer you will get is no less than this, " The Company allows us Shoes and I'll be d--d if I stir a foot out of the House until I get Shoes"... (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/10/9d)

Not all such attempts on the part of the labourers to expand upon informal benefits were successful, as Peter Fidler noted in 1816 at the height of the trade war.

> the whole of the Company's and Men's horses brought home to be kept in the stables every night, to keep them from being stolen by the Indians, now the snow is off the ground. Some of the men wanted to keep their horses in the stables and eat the hay made by the Company's servants and at the same time not allow them to work anything for the Co. but be kept merely for their own pleasure; this I would not allow, and I told them all that no man's horse should be admitted into the Company's stables and eat their hay, and one man is constantly employed in the day time to watch them from being stolen. when they found me determined, they then said their horses should do an equal share of work with the others and the Company's and on these terms, I allowed them to be taken the same care of as the rest (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/19/25, 25d).

The concerns of the labourers extended beyond their efforts to improve and protect their position in a monetary sense. A number of these non-monetary concerns were expressed throughout the years at

Brandon House. It is difficult to document these concerns as they were generally informal arrangements between the labourers and the officers. One issue was the work schedule imposed by the officers. As noted earlier in this chapter, the labourers monitored the quantity of work completed in a day, and strove to maintain some sort of maximum standard over which they would seldom willingly exceed. It is apparent that there was no institutionalized work routine with "work days" and "days off", however most officers maintained some kind of system that assured periods for the men to carry out their own activities or to rest. The frequency of these rest periods, however, varied at the discretion of the individual officer in charge. For example, Donald McKay records very few rest or "holy" days for the men, so much so that the men complained of having to work on the sabbath (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/1/10d). Officers who devoutly "kept the sabbath holy" strove to give "sermons", and to try to instil Christian discipline and virtue in the men (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/4/36). Other officers had a somewhat different view of the "day of rest" as noted in John McKay's entry for October 14, 1797.

> ... Tom Richards, Tom Favill and John Lyons out hunting with 3 horses. having cut their week's wood in 5 days they have Saturday to themselves. Blessed Country where the Labourer when his vocation will permit of leisure, can partake of pleasure in all its vanities, where he never knows the want of the best of provisions, nor feel the frowns of misfortune crushing him to beggary, nor need he care whether France has a King or not (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/5/14).

While there is much variability between officers over granting the men time off, the Christmas and New Year festivities are, almost without exception, described as times of much festivity and freedom from routine work responsibilities, conspicuous alcohol and food consumption, and sometimes social visits with the personnel of competing trade companies (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/4/26).

Devout Officers such as James Sutherland and Robert Goodwin consistently carried out prayer services on Christmas day, while other officers such as John McKay celebrated the Christmas holiday by issuing alcohol and sanctioning football matches among the men (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/5/23).

Other days set aside from labour included religious holidays (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/1/12d, B.22/a/7/25) which might be celebrated at the discretion of the officer in charge. Finally, some officers such as Robert Goodwin and John McKay also permitted festivities at the end of the winter trade season just prior to the long boat trip to Martin's Fall. These breaks from the routine usually involved giving drams of alcohol and competitive target shoots among the labourers, whereby the best shot would receive a prize such as a bison robe (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/8/18d). Finally, men returning from travelling to other posts or on long hunting trips were given the opportunity to rest on the day following their arrival (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/4/19).

The annual cycle of work activities made the labourers vulnerable to risks of injury and death. These risks could come from the normal range of work activities, as a function of geo-political developments in the area, climatic conditions, through fur trade competition, or as a result of one's work mates. While the labourers do not seem to have been free to refuse labour that they perceived to be too dangerous, they seem to have successfully avoided many of these dangers.

Avoidance of uncomfortable working conditions is apparent with references to stoppage of outdoor work in inclement weather (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/4/3). This consideration led some men to refuse orders to travel on the plains at times during the winter (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/4/23d) when

cold weather or sudden storms might catch them in the open. This was a very real risk as observed in the case of Jacob Henderson, an H.B.C. labourer who became lost in a storm in the winter of 1796, and spent several days and nights wandering lost. In Henderson's case he was fortunate enough to be discovered by several Indians, and was brought back to the post suffering with severe frostbite (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/4/24, 24d, 25). A second risk that the men considered very seriously was the danger of becoming lost while travelling from one post to another through areas with which that they were not familiar. This danger was so serious that some men would risk the wrath of the officer in charge, and refuse to leave the post if they felt that their safety was not safeguarded (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/6/12d).

In addition to risks from the environment, the labourers were also careful to assure that the actions of the officers and fellow labourers did not risk this sense of well-being. This is particularly apparent in the fashion in which the men dealt with the temper and violence of "Mad" Donald McKay in the 1793-94 trade season. While McKay is hardly a reliable source of information, the journal does provide much room for informed speculation. It is also apparent that to understand the actions of the labourers, one must appreciate the rather violent and irrational elements in McKay's character, and his attitude of blustering intimidation towards all people he encountered. As a case in point, McKay had several violent confrontations with Indians, and in at least one case his own men were slow to come to his assistance (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/1/5, 13d, 14). In any case the labourers under McKay's charge were particularly reluctant to involve themselves in joining with him in defaming a holy day in order to offend the Canadians of the N.W.C.

(HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/1/10d), and in following him in a punitive expedition to punish several Natives for shooting holes in the H.B.C. boats (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/1/15, 15d). Also of interest is the fact that several H.B.C. men offered evidence against McKay at his informal trial for shooting at one of his competitors from ambush (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/1/25, B.63/a/1/15, McDonnell 1984:106).

Not offering to support McKay also had its risks as one young, relatively inexperienced labourer discovered when he became an unwilling accomplice in one of McKay's confrontations with the N.W.C.

> ...At 2 PM a gang of Canadians came to cut wood within twenty yards from my house... I challenged them and asked them what makes them come so near us, they said that if they choosed they would bring it from my door. I said should they attempt that they would return with broken bones, one of them advanced as if he meant to make a blow at me with his hatchet, I drew one of my pistols and told him and all the rest should they attempt to strike me with such a barbarous Instrument that I would that moment in self defense, kill the first man who would advance an inch further, One James Moar one of the Campany's servants I took with me to look on, he run away and left me by myself among them they were fifteen in number at least they went of and left me when I returned to my tent I gave James Moar a good beating for his cowardice (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/1/9-9d).

While the case of McKay might be perceived as citing the extreme example, several references to men avoiding danger are hinted at by the officers. Donald McKay commented that he suspected that the men in his charge were deliberately working slowly and in an obstructionist fashion in preparing for a winter journey in order to avoid the trip (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/1/16d). Another alleged ploy to avoid hazardous employment may have been to feign illness:

> Jan 13, 1794: ... John Sutherland is sick (as he says, I hope that the intended expedition up the river does not occasion his illness)... (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/1/15d).
>
> Mar 16, 1816: Fraser and Henderson was directed to go down to the Forks to fetch up goods for Mr. Sutherland, but the former absolutely refused to go there saying he was snowblind but he

went away on hs own accord to Qu'Appelle as well as ever (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/19/22).

While there is some doubt that the officers were a reliable source to measure the tactics of the labourers, one can well imagine the labourer's trepidation at the thought of a long distance trek in mid winter.

Perhaps the most frequently cited kind of risk of personal injury or death stemmed from the violence. This threat could appear from several sources that were both a product of the fur trade, and the social milieu of life in a war zone between Native war alliances.

There is no question that the level of violence was very high at times of intense competition, particularly when alcohol consumption formed an integral part of the trade exchange. The nature and level of violence described in the post journals throughout the history of Brandon House varied in relation to events affecting interpersonal relationships, levels of competition, and upon the skill, attitude and temperament of the traders involved. A range of such violent confrontations are noted that indicate some of the key features of this phenomenon.

> Dec 24, 1793 Tue: last night was the troublesome more than any I ever experienced, I was twice near to be stabbed by a Stone Indian after drinking two quarts of Indian Brandy and did not give as much as a piece of meat, he still would insist on getting more which I so premtarly <sic> refused him without he would pay for it he then drew his knife he had concealed in his sleeve and made a push at me which I fortunately warded off only cutting one of my fingers my passion got the better of my reason I immediately knocked him down and dragged him downstairs and put him under the care of 4 men, the rest was very troublesome but thank God no mischief happened to be an Indian trader is the meanest and most dangerous business upon the face of the Earth, God grant that I may once more return to my Native Country and all the Beafflous of the N.W. will not induce me to leave it (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/1/13d-14).

Donald McKay's description of the dangers of confrontations in the

trade room is quite dramatic and graphically described. However, the author also suspects that, given McKay's history of violence, he likely was at least partially responsible for escalating the fight to such a scale. The risk of injury from such an incident needs no further comment.

A second sort of risk to all people in the northeastern plains, for fur traders and natives alike, was the risk of attack from Indian war parties. While this danger was not everpresent, the following citations illustrate the point.

> May 17,1795:... The <summer> master and men not very willing to stay ye summer for fear ye Sues <Sioux> should visit them gave them all 1 yard of tobacco for encouragement (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/1/20d).
>
> May 25,1801:... last night some Mandan Indians killed 6 of our best horses and stole 1 foal (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/9/1).
>
> Aug 6,1801:... An Indian arrived from above with the disagreeable intellegence that 11 women and children had been killed, 2 other wounded at River Qui'Appelle, by a party of Big Bellies, among the dead are the wife of Grant's Brother in Law and the Daughter of the Hawk two of our Greatest chiefs here (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/9/3).

While Native warfare usually was characterized by attacks upon Native camps and the theft of horses from both the camps and the trade posts, some forays could prove a physical threat to H.B.C. men.

> Aug 8,1805 Thur:... Jollycoeur was keeping the horses some Indians shot him in the neck with a Iron shoded Arrow he fired 2 shots at them, but missed as he saw nothing but their heads, he came home all over blood, I went off immediately with what men was at the House, to save some of the horses, if possible, we found all the horses undisturbed, We searched every place nigh the house, saw no person but the footsteps of 2 men who forded the river opposite the horses and let fly their arrows from under the bank of the river...(HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/13/7d).
>
> July 22, 1810 Sun: came home John Easter and Thomas Kipling with 3 cows the cause of their long absence was on the second day they happened on a few tents of Stones who immediately pursued them for about 20 miles where their horses gave out for which reason they were forced to take another course (HBCA, PAM,

B.22/a/18a/3d).

The risk of alienating customers in the process of the trade exchange could also have violent repercussions as recounted below.

> Feb 18, 1804: ... The little man and the Hunter still drunk, the latter wanted to stab James Anderson, but was prevented by a little Girl what could I say to him, as our living depends on his hunt, and he knows it, we pacified him as well as we could and got him to Bed... (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/11/8d).

> Feb 10, 1800: Will Yorstone and George Henderson brought letters from Mr. Millar, also informs me of ye death of Mr. John Linklater who was stabbed by an Indian when drunk (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/7/16d).

> Sept 27, 1802:... This day, as I was riding in the Plains, an Indian wanted to shoot me just as I came up to him, I jumped off the Horse before he could get the coat off his Gun and presented a pistol to his Breast I was too nigh for his Gun to be of any Service to him, I gave him 2 or 3 hearty chinks, which softened his head a little and rode off, when at a distance I heard his gun go off. The Canadian who saw us both says he fired at me, but I rather think his wife took the Gun from him, and fired it off, to prevent him from doing mischief, for she was so frightened that I really pitied the poor woman. This man is a NW Co Indian I never had the least dealings with him in my life. Yesterday he wanted a Gun in debt which I refused to give this perhaps has vexed him... (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/10/4d).

The risk of trading alcohol to potentially dangerous customers regularly resulted in violent situations and some risk to the traders and labourers in and around the post. This was particularly the case at times of intense competition (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/6/11d-12).

While the officers and men were faced with some risk at the hands of the Indians, the dangers to Natives while camped in and around the fort were also great. The combination of alcohol consumption, quarreling, and inter and intra band tensions often sparked violent situations (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/3/13).

Traders dispatched from the relative safety of the fortified posts to Indian camps sometimes faced great risk at the hands of their trade partners and hosts.

> Feb 4,1803: ... 4 men <ie travelling H.B.C. traders> returned from the Indians they brought nothing but the Goods they took with them. This is the way these fellows serve us, send for men when they have got nothing, they thought I would be fool enough to send only one man that they might rob him of his Brandy, but in this they were mistaken... (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/10/8).

The risk was not always limited to friction due to the trade exchange, as men could be held responsible in the eyes of the Indians for the actions of their fellows. This is evident in the case of a killing that a H.B.C. labourer was directly involved in while dispatched on a trading trip.

> Nov 29,1794 Sat:... at noon Richards, John came home brot not a single skin of my debt. got drunk with the Indians at their tents and helped to kill a poor harmless woman he says he stabbed her on ye back but her husband had cut her throat before. god only knows what the consequences may be, for its impossible for her to survive long, a very hard thing he cannot even be trusted to go to any place were liquor is (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/2/9d).

> Dec 8, 1794 Mon: ... towards evening an Indian (brother to the woman stabbed) came in for men to go to his lodge for my debts and to haul his sister who died last night of the wounds she received, he begged for some Brandy to go to the other Indians and drink with them gave him 2 gallons (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/2/10d).

> Dec 10,1794 Wed: ... sent Robert Eunson and David Brown to ye Indian tent they did not greatly like to go for fear the Indians should do them harm to prevent that I would send no liquor this time, a french man went also for their debts (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/2/10d).

Many of the incidents describing violent situations involving or affecting H.B.C. men have several common themes:

1) the act of carrying out trade exchanges could spark violence via drunken brawls, disgruntled customers, or by being pillaged while carrying out trade trips;

2) most of the violent acts seem to be correlated with consumption of large quantities of alcohol; and,

3) these violent episodes were somewhat unrelated to the "normal" level of violence from institutionalized Native warfare that plagued the area.

It is also evident that the degree of risk faced by H.B.C. men was

the greatest while outside the compound, whether tending horses, occupying ancillary camps, travelling between posts, or while dispatched on trading trips. The availability of seasoned labourers who knew the country, who could rely upon personal ties with Native customers, and who were familiar with trade exchange etiquette greatly reduced the risks of the venture. It is also expected that these seasoned men knew the risks, monitored the level of tension in the area, and knew when the dangers exceeded the margin of safety. Perhaps the most dramatic example of this was with labourers who were dispatched on the highly dangerous trade expeditions to the Mandan and Hidatsa Indians along the Missouri River. These trade expeditions occasioned much danger from several sources:

> 1) the risk of travel across the north eastern fringes of the prairie in winter with the attendant dangers of winter travel, limited numbers of sheltered river valleys, and the risk of being trapped or lost in prairie snowstorms;
>
> 2) the risk of crossing a hostile frontier between Siouan, Mandan, Assiniboine, Gros Ventre, Cree and Ojibwa groups; and,
>
> 3) the risk of being intercepted by Assiniboine middlemen traders who were determined to protect their own trade markets on the Missouri River.

The record of trade with the Mandan Indians over a period from 1794 to 1812 serves to illustrate the implications for the men engaged in this volatile trade (Table 4). The Mandan trade between 1794 and 1800 was characterized by small parties of men with small outfits of goods embarking with freemen guides (Table 4). These freemen were also sometimes supplied with goods on a credit arrangement from the H.B.C. (Table 4). While the journals reflect the level of caution needed to avoid the Sioux, the greatest risk appears to have been from the weather or from getting lost (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/3/15d). The use of seasoned

Freemen guides likely reduced this risk somewhat.

The first decade of the 1800's saw a rapid increase in the risks of the Mandan trade from Native warfare, pillaging, and from decreased returns due to increased competition (Table 4). The risks of the trade grew to such a scale that H.B.C. men refused to embark without experienced men to lead them. Also of note, these Country Skilled men found themselves in a dramatically improved bargaining postion as James Slatter (Senior) discovered in the 1800-01 season.

> ... at noon Jas. Slatter Sr., James Slatter Jr., Will Yorston, William Luttit (Birza), Andrew Fubbister and George Budge arrived safe from the Mandalls and Big Bellies they have brot near 600 MBr and three fine horses also 5 dogs... I cannot help expressing my thanks to James Slatter (Senior) having done so well and is well worthy of your Honour's notice, if it was not for him, I could not get any that would undertake the Journey being so fearful of ye enemy and he has been constantly for several winters, it is a pity his time is out as he intends to go down <leave the service>, and he asks more than I dare give altho' I know he is well worth it, he is a good hunter of cattle besides and ye only proper person to go again next fall (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/8/12d).

It would appear that the Chief Factor and the London Committee agreed with McKay's assessment, as Slatter's salary went from L 16 to L 25 in 1802 and he remained in the service until the fall of 1804 (HBCA, PAM, A.16/6/157), (Figure 4).

The problems with warring Indians became more serious in the 1801-02 season as the Assiniboine decided to cut off the Mandan from their trade partners in retaliation for raids (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/9/1, 3, 8d, 9). The H.B.C. labourers who went to the Missouri River that year were witness to the violence of this warfare.

> Dec 21,1802: ... At 3 PM William Yorston, James Slatter (Jr), William Loutitt and Jas. Moar arrived from the Mandans with 300 Br. in wolves they inform me that the Indians cannot hunt on account of their wars while our men were there they brought 150 horses and 8 Slaves from the Snake Indians they destroyed 18 tents of them in a battle close to the Mandan Village, 38 Sooses

> fell by the arms of the former. James Slatter went to the spot where the battle was fought and counted 19 heads the rest were taken away by the wolves, the day before our men started the Mandans killed 11 Assiniboils within half a mile of their village, the heads were brought in and eat by the dogs with several other parts of their bodies. Old James Slatter has remained at the Mandans having a quantity of goods remaining. I am almost afraid to send men to him, the interests of his masters has detained him there of course it would be the height of ingratitude to abandon him through fear... (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/9/12d,13).

The officer in charge, despite his reluctance to risk his men, encouraged them to return to Slatter by furnishing them with clothing and equipment (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/9/15). However bad weather and fear of the warfare led the leader of the second party to refuse to lead the trip, and the other men refused to go alone (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/9/15). Fortunately, Slatter returned safely in the spring with a party of Canadians (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/9/18d).

The next two trade seasons were relatively uneventful with only horse thefts to contend with (Table 4). However the 1804-05 season saw renewed dangers as the Assiniboine Indians strove to protect their middleman position by ambushing and killing a free trader outfitted by the H.B.C., and by selling the stolen goods in the Mandan villages (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/12/7, 9d, 10, 10d). With these risks in mind, at least some of the H.B.C. men refused to go to the villages (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/12/6d). However, one labourer agreed to take a party to the villages and returned safely (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/12/6d, 10d). As a consequence of these developments, the H.B.C. did not send any of their servants the next year, but rather, outfitted a recently released X Y Company officer to conduct the Mandan trade on a credit basis (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/13/10,12,15) (Table 4).

The 1806-07 trade season saw a renewed attempt to maintain the

Mandan trade connection with H.B.C. employees (Table 4). This led to the successful completion of one trade trip (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/14/8d,9), however the second trip was intercepted and the goods were stolen.

> April 17,1807 Fri: last night about 11 (pm), George Budge arrived from the Mandals with the unfortunate Intelligence that the Assiniboils had robbed them of 4 of their horses and stabbed 2 others one of them died on the spot, the other he left unable to get up three of the above horses were brought during the winter at the Mandals. He has left James Slatter and Jacob Corrigale with the furs 3 days journey from the Mandal Village the other 3 men with 3 horses are coming home with part of the furs they likewise robbed him of all his provisions, ammunition, 2 new guns, a part of his furs, etc in the scuffle he himself and Jacob Corrigal were nearly stabbed by 2 of the Rascals whilst near 40 others surrounded them with their Bows drawn, had they made further resistance, Inevitable death must have been ye consequence (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/14/14d-15).

Once again the H.B.C. stopped sending their own employees and equipped Freemen on credit for the next two trade seasons (Table 4). It is not known whether the officer in charge followed this course independently, or whether the men refused to go.

In 1809 the H.B.C. once again sent a group of employees to the Missouri River to trade either with the Natives, or with American trappers. However, they encountered stiff competition, poor furs, and the Mandan forced them to trade or risk being pillaged (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/17/12-12d) (Table 4). It would appear that the poor returns, risks of violence, death, or robbery exceeded the potential value of the trade as no expedition was sent in the 1810-11 trade season. Finally, in 1811-12 another trade trip to the Missouri River was planned. This trip was instigated at the request of Freemen intermediaries on behalf of the Mandan Indians (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/18b/6d) who, apparently, wanted to resume trade arrangements with the British. However, the leader of the proposed expedition tried to have the trip delayed and the officer in charge ordered him to go. The resultant confrontation escalated into a

brawl (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/18b/7, 7d, 8), and after much hard feelings and bruised flesh, the expedition got underway. However, the trip was unsuccessful as the Americans were at the villages in force offering stiff competition.

This review of the Mandan trade operated from Brandon House offers several interesting avenues for discussion. It is immediately apparent that the Mandan trips could be extremely dangerous and that it required men of great experience, courage and fortitude to embark upon them. While the dangers were great, it is also evident that Country Skilled labourers who led these parties greatly enhanced their bargaining positions at contract renegotiation time. It is also suggested that the more junior labourers willing to undertake such ventures also may have received informal gratuities in the form of clothing and equipment. Finally, it is also apparent that the men seem to have been able to maintain some informal voice in the decision-making process as in several cases they refused the commission at times of great risk (Table 4). Such an informal veto caused some concern on the part of the officers as was noted in 1804.

> Oct 13,1804: Ordered Will Loutet to the Mandals, he refused to go, it is impossible for me to carry on any business here or any place else if the men can refuse their duty when they please. I ordered G. Budge in his place, he consented without a grumble... (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/12/6d).

While the officers may have been angered by such actions, some officers of long service who knew the dangers their men faced, would not risk their own men and carried out the trade by crediting freemen instead (Table 4). Also of interest are the instances when a second labourer agreed to carry out the trip that the first had refused. Perhaps the second man could not resist the additional inducements offered him, or

he was striving to improve his lot in upcoming wage renegotiations by drawing attention to his conspicuous devotion to the company's interests.

The case of the brawl between the senior labourer and the officer in 1811 over the former's refusal to embark on the trade trip may be perceived as a new officer not understanding the informal arrangment whereby the labourers strove to maintain a veto over potentially dangerous work.

The preceeding discussion has attempted to identify and discuss the hidden informal relationships between the labourers and the officers who supervised their efforts. It is immediately apparent that the labourers were quite successful in enhancing their lot within the service by increasing their level of pay and reducing contract lengths. They seem to have been particularly successful in this endeavor throughout the 1790's and first decade of the 1800's at the height of the war induced labour shortage. Furthermore, these moves to improve one's lot were also particularly successful if the individual labourer could offer skills that were indispensable to the expanding inland service. These skills can be conveniently called Country Skills. The men with these skills were the backbone of the H.B.C. inland service and the process of building seniority, skills and moving upward in the company hierarchy form an important theme that will be discussed in detail in the following chapter.

It is also evident that the labourers, while not an organized force in the sense of a modern labour union, still maintained a cohesive bargaining unit that was usually disciplined in monitoring itself and its relationship with the officers. The primary bonds holding this unit

together appear to be a sense of camaraderie, similar interests, kinship and common ethnic origins. The Governor and London Committee, recognizing this sense of cohesiveness, responded by attempting a labour diversification program. These developments will also be discussed in the next chapter.

Finally, the labourers also appear to have sought to protect and enhance their living and working conditions within the inland posts by means of a series of techniques that include work stoppage, threats of desertion, work slow downs, and outright refusal to accept dangerous work. The success of all of these endeavors appear to have been dependent upon the vulnerability of the officers in charge, the availability of men not carrying out such pressure tactics, and the level of bargaining flexibility on the part of the officers.

The following chapter will consider these bargaining techniques and their effectiveness in a diachronic framework in face of changes in the structure and management orientation of the Hudson's Bay Company.

Chapter 7

ECONOMIZING STRATEGIES IN A CLIMATE OF CHANGE

THE LONG TERM H.B.C. EMPLOYEE

In the previous two chapters the problem of maintaining sufficient numbers of men at the inland posts was considered. Of particular importance was the availability of experienced or Country Skilled men. Furthermore, through the tradition of internal upward mobility within the H.B.C., the recruitment of new leaders often ocurred from within the ranks of the most senior and experienced labourers. In some cases this meant the promotion of labourers into the officer category, and more commonly it represented movement of men into the more senior categories of the labourer group. This vertically integrated pyramidal hierarchy encouraged long-term service in the company for men whose aspirations were met by the prospect of eventual upward mobility.

The Bay Tradition of upward mobility in the context of the "household" system of social organization had both integrative and divisive elements. On the one hand, men who had chosen long-term service in the Hudson's Bay Company had the hope that one day, if they showed ability, loyalty and diligence, they too might become officers with the attendent status, authority and responsibilities. However, men restless with their perceived slow rate of progress, might resent their slow promotion.

BECOMING AN OFFICER

Becoming an officer could have mixed benefits and deficits. A new

officer found that his social status in Rupert's land increased dramatically with his promotion. He was treated with greater respect and was referred to with titles such as Mister, Master or Esquire. The use of these honourifics was taken with great seriousness as a young clerk named William Trail pointed out in a letter to his mother in 1865.

> ...Please do not put Esq. to my name it is only used to Chief Factors and Traders when used otherwise it is very much laughed at and as I do not want to be laughed at you will please not do so again (Glenbow Alberta Institute M1241.2).

To be an officer also could involve more concrete benefits as many also retained servants, occupied separate living quarters, maintained a social distance from their minions, and indulged in conspicuous consumption of goods in keeping with their social position. Other marks of rank were high salaries, a larger share of the trade, distinctive clothing, freedom from physical labour and the right to maintain a family within the post (Foster 1973, 1976, 1983: personal communication).

An officer in the inland post system also faced social isolation as he was not to fraternize with the labourers, and faced a great deal of stress due to his decision-making responsibilities. The officer in charge also had to carry the burden of dealing with potentially hostile customers and competitors, and had to accept blame for failure.

It is evident that the men had variable aspirations towards becoming officers. On the one hand, men such as John Sutherland strove to become an officer by accepting many challenges, particularly with the exploration and expansion into the inland hinterlands. Sutherland began his career in about 1776 as a labourer at a wage of L 6 for 5 years (HBCA, PAM, A.16/4), (Figure 5). With the completion of his first contract, he re-engaged for 3 years, two at L 8 and one at L 10 (Figure

5), in spite of a rather ambivalent recommendation in the list of servants for 1782 (HBCA, PAM, A.30/2/41d-42). With the renegotiation of his next contract in 1787, John Sutherland appears to have begun distinguishing himself in the eyes of his superiors with the receipt of a rather large increase in salary (Figure 5), perhaps on the basis of the comments in the Servant's Resolves book for that year.

> Is retained inland by John Best, has been uncommonly assidious in pushing inland... He's under no contract being too far off to send him one. Leaves his terms to your Honours (to contract for 5 years from 1786 at L 15) (HBCA, PAM, A.30/3/71d, 72)

In the 1792-93 trade season, Sutherland further distinguished himself as the Assistant at Red Lake (HBCA, PAM, A.30/5), and as Donald McKay's Assistant in the expansion into the Red River area the following year (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/1). At this time he was also appointed Master of an outpost along the upper reaches of the Assiniboine River (HBCA, PAM, B.63/a/1). However he appears to have been chafing under what he perceived to be a lack of recognition of his contributions, as he wrote something of an ultimatum to his superiors in his "River Kapell" journal.

> The Reader will please to understand that I have undergone a deal of toil and hard labour in executing the aforsaid distance, I have been in danger of my life not only by Indians and other accidents that attends a Traveller in executing so long a Journey, but likewise have led a life of fear, and continualy under the apprehensions of the Snares of my Enemys, I have further to add that they have been no greater undertaking from Albany Fort this 15 years but what I was appointed to partake of, but at my return to Albany, very little notice was taken of me or what I said they being plenty of favourils and imposturs there wailing any vacancy that might happen, I am sensible I have done no more than my duty, nevertheless I cannot help saying that they <there> were others prefered before me that did not merit it any better, perhaps the low station that I came out in was the cause that so little notice was taken of me, but be that as it will, who is he that would not pick up a jewel that lay on a dung hill, or would not value Truth however he came by it ... If the Governor will not smile on me at my return now I will resign the Honorable Company's Service for I am sure there is hardly any

> employment which if pursued with attention will not avail an income sufficient for the necessary uses of life, and no Revenue is so great as to be proof against Extravagance- (HBCA, PAM, B.63/a/1/13d, 14).

By way of contrast to the aspirations of John Sutherland, another long term employee named Thomas Norn did not initially welcome the opportunity to become an officer. This man also entered the H.B.C. service as a labourer (Figure 6). While still listed as a labourer, he served as an Outpost Master and Second under John McKay's direction in the "Lac La Pluis" area (Rainy River, Lake of the Woods) between 1793 and 1797 (HBCA, PAM, B.105/a/1-4). McKay in his correspondence to Norn offered instructions how to carry out the trade, and how to conduct himself as an officer. While Norn was still formally listed as a labourer, McKay urged him to take on the symbols of rank in keeping with his new responsibilities.

> ... I do not approve of your eating with the men it will make you look little in the eyes of the natives... (HBCA, PAM, B.105/a/2/8).
>
> ...I have sent you a fashionable blue coat be sure you wear it at all times you see Indians... (HBCA, PAM, B.105/a/2/9).
>
> ...I wish you make all as you are a young man on your first trial your future preferment may depend in some manner on your exertions and good luck this year, since my first knowledge of you I have had an opinion of your being qualified to please the Natives let me not be mistaken... (HBCA, PAM, B.105/a/2/9d).

McKay supplied Norn with further advice concerning the trade, and the nature of his advice implies that Norn was inexperienced both as a trader and in the proper manner of dealing with Indians.

> Oct 12,1794: ... By Nowe-kee-shick I received...all the news you thought proper to communicate to him, I am sorry to hear the Indians are so troublesome particularly Black Face.... I know your good temper will remove all these difficulties... the 44 beaver <in debt> you gave to Ottaway, I am afraid is lost as he means to go to Portage de Lisle and join his father,... let not his debt give you the least concern nor cause you to hold your hand from others who deserve better treatment. You will be lucky

> if you do not lose 4 times as much before spring... Secrecy is a thing I would recommend to you as it will keep you out of an hundred errors never seen but when too late- never call Jasper Corrigall to your assistance in any matter of trade except when you cannot do without him you know the man and his principals better than I do therefore I will say the less... (HBCA, PAM, B.105/a/2/4, 4d).

> ...I am sorry to hear you think yourself so much embarassed with the lame Indians I have sent to the lame man a Blanket and pr. of stockings his brother's debt will depend in some manner on the usage he receives from you... if strangers come your way scruple not to cut them a pipe of tobacco and give 'em something to eat if you can spare it notwithstanding they may have brought you nothing it will perhaps have a good effect in time to come if you stand at triffles with your Indians it will give 'em a bad opinion of you and turn their affections to other objects... In my last I recommended a tally to keep Indian debts on but I fear you have never seen any for which reason I send you one as a pattern. I have verbally instructed Tom Favell the manner of using it (HBCA, PAM, B.105/a/2/7d, 8).

These extracts indicate the degree of social isolation that Norn was expected to maintain from his men, and also suggests the implications for his future if he failed in his first commission. Further suggestions of Norn's troubles are apparent with the repeated suggestions that some of Norn's men had been disobedient and insolent to him (HBCA, PAM, B.105/a/2/10). Norn's difficulties in dealing with his former co-workers became increasingly difficult as McKay issued him instructions to discipline them.

> keep an account of all the European provisions you have shared among the men and let them use none of it while they can get country provisions, serve your men for the future their exact allowance of such victuals as you have to give every day or every week... I hope you will be punctual in seeing orders executed, such men as refuses their duty you will detect their names and I will represent them to the Governor in the light they deserve (HBCA, PAM, B.105/a/2/10-10d).

In 1795 McKay learned from Norn that Indians had tried to break into Norn's warehouse and that the tensions between he and his men had not been resolved (HBCA, PAM, B.105/a/2/18d, 19, 19d).

Thomas Norn, faced with the social isolation of his position of

responsibility, found the promotion not to his liking. The onus was upon him to deal with violent customers, and it was he who had to accept the responsibility for failure. Furthermore, it can be expected that Norn's new status in the hierarchy forced him to distance himself from his former fellow labourers. This must have been particularly stressfull for him as McKay also expected him to discipline his former colleagues. McKay's description of the 1796 New Year's celebration effectively illustrates the sense of camaraderie that Norn had to give up as part of the cost of his new status.

> January 1,1796: ...give the people 2 drams in the morning. served 5 1b Bacon and 5 quarts rice. 12 o'clock give mess bottles to 9 men,... at night I give the people mess bottles again. this is the way we pass the holiday, the favorite Game is foot ball and the chief topic of the discourse is drinking or about the behavior of the Masters in the Country. the latter God save them is reduced to the smallest part of nothing (HBCA, PAM, B.105/a/3/16d).

Perhaps this burdensome sense of responsibility and social isolation contributed to Norn's refusal to accept an appointment as Master at Pembina River in 1797, particularly as the men had already refused to serve under a previously appointed officer (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/5/5).

The reluctance of Norn to enter into the world of the officers is even more understandable as it does not appear to have offered an equivalant to the rough camaraderie of the Men's house. While officers might enjoy privileges denied the labourers, they still occupied niches in a hierarchy that was highly prone to aggressive competition, jealousies and infighting. While inland officers seemed to be socially isolated with none of equal rank with whom to consort, the plight of junior officers in the large bayside factories seems little better. It appears that some senior officers carefully guarded their prestige by

denying junior officers the "little luxuries" and "forced them to associate with the common men" (HBCA, PAM, A.6/19/49d). The company responded in part by suggesting a more militarily oriented attitude towards the social consequences of the work-related hierarchy.

> We allude more particularly to the treatment of the junior officers... at the Mess Table, where there appears to be a distinction made of who is to partake of the little luxuries that may be on the table, this is not nor ought to be the case in well regulated messes- the Colonel of a Regiment and an Ensign in England are all on the same footing at Table and it is our wish that such should be the case among our officers in the Bay (HBCA, PAM, A.6/19/59d).

The sense of a hierarchical pecking order within the officer category may be very appropriate as one's advancement up the hierarchy was dependent upon ability, experience, good fortune and, as John Sutherland suggested, patronage links. It would appear that these factors created great tensions and jealousies as officers competed for promotion or favor in the eyes of their superiors. These tensions and their product are generally poorly documented, but there are numerous hints in the records of their existence and their consequences. Perhaps the most common source of these tensions arose from personality clashes, or when new officers were "parachuted" into positions of authority over the heads of more senior officers. Apparently newly recruited traders from the Canadian service were given relatively high salaries upon entering the service, and Orcadian H.B.C. officers objected to such developments. The London Committee, obviously enamoured with the prospect of recruiting Canadian officers with their reputation for success, responded by defending the high wages for Canadians as these inland traders were "liable to greater hazards and difficulties than those who are stationary" (HBCA, PAM, A.6/16/49). This tension could express itself in petty harassment, or in much more serious conflicts

that could affect the success of the trade. Donald and John McKay experienced some of these conflicts shortly after they joined the service of the H.B.C. The London Committee commented on these jealousies.

> We are concerned to hear that the contents of the canteen sent in 1793 for the use of Mr. D. McKay consisting chiefly of glass and china articles were broken to pieces. The Canteens were purposely sent to Albany for the accomodations of Masters Inland, several articles of less importance sent to Mr. McKay as a compensation for his loss at Snake Fall never reached his hands. We would not willingly impute this to willful neglect or omission but it looks very much like it... The attention to the Company's Interest shewn by Mr. D. McKay and Mr. John McKay is very conspicuious and we repeat it as our desire that you will furnish them with every requiste for promoting their designs which appear well calculated to counteract our opponents between whom and some of our Inland Masters we are sorry to observe there seems to be connections that can by no means operate to our advantage but quite the reverse as the enterprizing spirit of the Canadians are not in any degree equal'd by the best Exertions of our Servants at present... It is apparent that an unaccountable jealousey subsisting between each other of our Inland Masters who seem to loose sight of the General Interest for their own partial purposes persisting in following old customs and habits instead of spiritedly exerting themselves in opposition to the Canadians and without duly considering the Exigency and circumstances of the times plod on from year to year in the old beaten Track till it becomes totally unproductive (HBCA, PAM, A.6/15/130d, 131).

This reprimand, while it identifies a serious flaw in the operation of the inland system, did not offer a means of resolving the underlying problem of officers striving to improve their individual lot at the expense of company's interests. The strife between John McKay and James Sutherland in 1793 serves as a case in point. In his "Lac la Pluie" journal, McKay implies that while the two men were leading parties into adjacent regions via the same water routes, James Sutherland strove to sabotage McKay's venture.

> Sept 3,1793:... This morning I detected Mr. Sutherland persuading the Indians to get Brandy from me which could be with no other intention then to raise a quarrel between me and the Natives

> which he was almost sure of complaiting. (HBCA, PAM, B.105/a/1/2).

McKay further noted that he suspected that Sutherland gave McKay's guide secret instructions to abandon his party after they embarked on their journey into the unfamiliar territory of the Lake of the Woods (HBCA, PAM, B.105/a/1/3, 3d, 4). While the accuracy of McKay's allegations is unknown, he obviously felt both sure enough of himself, and alienated enough from Sutherland, to voice his suspicions in print.

In addition to this infighting, some officers also appear to have been unable to resist the temptation to collect furs from the hinterlands of other H.B.C. posts, thereby increasing their fur yield and enhancing his own "value" in the eyes of his superiors. In 1807 John McKay wrote of the ploys used by a newly promoted officer named Thomas Miller to collect a few furs that he was not necessarily entitled to while the brigades moved inland.

> some Natives came to us and demanded Brandy from me as they had traded with Miller. I told him to go to Miller and get paid, they said the goods Miller had was mine, that Miller told them so, go and tell the Owl (that is his name) to bring my 2 battauxs to me and I will pay you twice over for the furs you gave him they however would not go, they began to find Miller had played them a trick, This is a nice knack Miller has learned of late, to get all the furs from the Indians he can then tell them the goods he has is mine, Miller always being a Red River man makes his lies appear more probable to the natives, and me being always behind, they are sure not to miss me (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/15/2).

Miller, a former labourer, had for several years previously been placed in charge of a Brandon House outpost. At this time he had, indeed, been one of John McKay's "Red River Men". However, with his appointment as the Inland Master in charge of the Pembina River Post, he was in a position to collect furs from Indians, include them in his fur returns (thereby enhancing his share of the trade), and convice the Indians that they should receive their payment from McKay's outfit. Not only would

such aggressive trade tactics increase the antagonism between officers, but it could prove very destructive to the relationship between local Indians and the H.B.C. traders.

The large-scale inland expansion of the Hudson's Bay Company also created competitive pressures between Inland Masters as the hinterlands of individual trade posts began to overlap. This was a serious problem with Albany Factory's Red River posts and York Factory's Swan River posts. The problem of the spatial overlap of the hinterlands was further exacerbated by the mobility of the Plains Cree and Assiniboine Indians, whereby they would trade and take debt at several posts in the same season.

The risk of failure was a consideration to be viewed before accepting appointment to a supervisory capacity. As suggested previously, the difficulties encountered by Thomas Norn in dealing with his new responsibilities at Lac la Pluie may have led him to refuse the appointment of Master at Pembina River after the men refused to serve under Mr. Russit. Perhaps he considered the risks of failure too great to be worth jeopardizing his position as a senior labourer and boatsteerer. Furthermore, Norn would also be forced to break the bonds of camaraderie with his fellow labourers as a cost of promotion. He already had a relatively high salary (Figure 6), high status among his fellow labourers, and few of the burdensome responsibilities associated with being an officer. At a later date Norn did become an inland officer (Figure 6), presumably after he had built up sufficient confidence, experience and, perhaps, patronage links to protect himself in the event of failure.

A second high seniority employee named James Inkster did not fare

as well in avoiding the pitfalls of failure during his first appointment as an outpost master during the winter of 1807-08. John McKay described his lieutenant's misadventures.

> April 1,1808:... James Inkster has settled far to low <ie too far downstream>. It would have been better to have settled long side Macdonell <of the N.W.C.> as there is a very short distance between them. He would have stood a chance for <a> share of the trade and lived better, he borrowed 200 lbs fat from Macdonnell and cannot pay him... James Inkster lost a fine Mare big with Foal and another Foal going on one year old was froze to death for want of a stable he promised last Fall a stable should be the first building he would make. I hear it is not yet finished. I assure him had I known how he meant to use the horses he should not have had one hair from me. Since the month of February his men had been running to Tom Norn's Indians, he has the Little Man and Gange, Indians of this House, in short to tell God's Truth, its not the Canadians we strive to oppose, its ourselves. a candle lighted at both ends is soon extinct. (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/15/19d-11).

McKay had little sympathy for Inkster's plight. The combination of Inkster's failure on his first appointment as an outpost master, and his skills as a cooper assured that he seldom was appointed to a supervisory role in spite of the fact that he remained in the company service for another thirteen years.

In summary, the lot of an officer was not positive. Clearly, the prospect of continued service as a well-paid and relatively high status senior labourer was very attractive to those men who could not bear the authority and responsibility that came with promotion into the ranks of the officers.

THE INFORMAL HIERARCHY

One must not assume that the hierarchy of the H.B.C. service was limited to the formal distinctions between the officers and labourers. In fact, an informal ranking system governed social and work relationships within the labourer category. This informal system of

upward mobility is poorly documented, but was likely pervasive throughout the Hudson's Bay Company's Rupert's land operations. The men at the peak of this hierarchy were the senior labourers.

The importance of senior Country Skilled labourers in this informal hierarchy has been amply described in previous sections. These experienced men filled an important role in providing leadership for small work parties, in providing highly skilled services to the Company, and in fullfilling the duties of traders and junior officers in the small outposts. These long term employees were given significant increases in salary and shorter contracts in keeping with their responsibilities, and to encourage them to remain in the service. These men were, in effect, "non commissioned officers" with formal measures of their work related status implicit in the titles of "patroon" and "boatsteerer". In addition to these concrete measures of informal ranking, a variety of informal criteria also existed.

A man's position in the informal ranking of the labourer category was affected by a number of variables that included ethnicity, competence, breadth of knowledge, the ability of an individual to "pull his own weight" and bear up under the harsh, rough life of the inland without complaint (Foster 1973:40-42). These criteria were further supplemented by a sense of rough comradery, "physical strength and endurance, quickness of wit, eye and hand", "being a fighter, loyalty, drinking ability and sexual success" (Foster 1973:43). These measures of "male worth" or fur trade machismo aided in supplementing individual leadership abilities, and served to measure individual men against others in the day to day life in Rupert's land. They also aided in the establishment of friendship bonds between individuals, and supported the

formal criteria of ranking based upon work role and experience.

Men forming the Country Skilled labourer category could establish strong trade and friendship bonds with customers and other occupants of the "plantation" and hinterlands. These bonds would further expand one's network of associates and, with time, these friendships were enhanced through the marriages of the children of those men with "Country families". Such developments could be expected to enhance the value of the labourer to the company as he could carry out skilled work roles within the post, and could aid in expanding the web of social connections between the trade post and the Native population. Senior labourers also were in a position to enhance their social consequence by negotiating successively higher salaries, fulfilling high status work roles, establishing families, and maintaining a household within the compound.

These informal arrangements and their implications are seldom illustrated in the business oriented journals of the post. However, some measures of an individual's position in the informal hierarchy are readily apparent, and aid in the documentation of an individual's progess up the hierarchy throughout his career. Much of the following discussion will deal with measures of hierarchical position such as wage scale and contract length, and will note changing work roles from low to high status jobs through time.

The complement of men who lived and worked at Brandon House through the years serves to illustrate the operation of the informal hierarchy of the Hudson's Bay Company, and also how it provided a relatively cohesive social and work unit. The structure and makeup of this hierarchy changed regularly with the frequent change in personnel.

Figure 7 illustrates the variation in both the numbers of men sent to Brandon House and the changes in the level of their experience. The first four or five years of the life of Brandon House were characterized by a largely untrained or low seniority work force which was led by a comparatively small number of high seniority men (Figure 7). However, by 1797 a dramatic reversal began to take place as the number of low seniority men plummeted and high seniority men became the predominant category (Figure 7). This is probably due to war-induced shortages of new recruits during the Napoleonic Wars, and the net effect of the H.B.C. labourers building experience and seniority as they remained in Rupert's land to reap the high salaries of the period.

The combination of the end of the European Wars, the 1810 Retrenchment Policy, and the beginning of the Selkirk Settlement resulted in another shift in the demographic profile of the Red River men (Figure 7). The wild fluctuations in manpower at this time reflects high seniority labourers leaving the Company service in response to the restraint of the post-retrenchment era, new opportunities with retirement to the Red River Settlement, and men returning to a peaceful Europe to escape the violence of the fur trade war period in the middle 1810's (Figure 7). The rapid increase in the numbers of low seniority labourers at this time is a reflection of the H.B.C. policy of labourer diversification, and the effect of Lord Selkirk's first settlers who spent much of their time living and working at Brandon House, Pembina and along the Qui Appelle River. Finally, the sudden decline in the number of both high and low seniority labourers in 1821 reflects the enforced retirement of unneeded men in response to the amalgamation of the N.W.C. and the H.B.C., the restoration of the H.B.C. monopoly, and

the drastic reorganization of the inland service. This review will serve as an important diachronic perspective for the following discussion of the informal hierarchy.

SALARY VARIATION AND IT'S MEANING

Figures 8 and 9 illustrate the mean wage of the low and high seniority labourers respectively throughout the time period under study. Low seniority labourers are considered to be men who were working on their first contract with the H.B.C., or men who were working with no formal contract. Despite some men working on three year contracts, for the sake of consistency, low seniority labourers are considered to be men with five or fewer years with the Company. High seniority men are those individuals with more than five years service with the company. Figures 8 and 9 also illustrate the salary range within one standard deviation of this mean, identifies men who exceeded the limits of this annual standard deviation (6), and further categorizes them by ethnic identity to enhance the analysis. As these figures indicate, many men received salaries that statistically varied from the normal salary range.

When first considering the low seniority labourers illustrated in Figure 8, it is apparent that most of labourers who received moderately and very low salaries were Native, Country Born or Canadian, while the ethnic category more commonly given a salary within the normal range were Orcadians (Figure 8). However, the situation of the poorly paid labourers needs to be clarified. In fact, these men can be grouped into four categories.

1) Non-contracted labourers who were not receiving a formal salary, but likely were paid informally with trade goods (ie

Nowekeizick and possibly Peiry Sutherland (Figure 8), and John Easter (Figure 9)).

2) Young Country Born men and boys who were the dependents of employees of the Company who worked on an informal basis at the post to supplement short-handed work parties. (ie John Richards McKay, William and Edward McKay, the Kiplings (John "Ram", "Peask" Thomas and John Jr.), and John Favel) (Figure 8).

3) Canadian Freemen who were released from the service of other companies. These men were likely exchanging their labour for "room and board" and were waiting for the London Committee to respond to their offers to take up service with the H.B.C. (ie Hugh Heney, Manor, Belhumure and Peter Souci) (Figure 8).

4) Country Born labourers such as John Favel, Charles Fidler, Tom Kipling and George Kipling (Figure 8).

When considering the well paid low seniority labourers illustrated in figure 8, a closer review of the data reveals other considerations. These labourers can also be grouped into a series of categories.

1) Country Skilled labourers of Country Born or Canadian origins who joined the service at times of a shortage of skilled and experienced men (ie Louis Jollycoeur, Thomas Richards, Humphrey Favel, Angus McDonald and John Lyons) (Figure 8). These men were able to demand high starting salaries as a consequence of their skills in light of a labourer shortage.

2) Labourers from the British Isles who, at the height of the period of war-induced shortages of labourers, were able to negotiate high salaries and shorter first contracts from the Company. Therefore, these men were able to negotiate a second, even higher-paying contract before their first five years of service had elapsed (ie George Henderson, Thomas Spense, Thomas Bore, George Setter, William Corrigal, William Sinclair, Hugh Fraiser and John Haywood) (Figure 8).

3) Orcadians who had served at a Factory other than Albany Factory, had returned to Europe, and then at some later date returned to the H.B.C. service to be stationed at a high salary rate that reflected their complete history with the Company (ie Thomas Anderson and Andrew Setter) (Figure 8).

When viewing figure 8 it is evident that a distinction must be made between experience, demonstrated ability and the actual length of service in the H.B.C. It is immediately apparant that several Canadian and Country Born men were able to negotiate high salaries on the basis

of their Country Skills developed through service with another company, or through growing up in Rupert's land, and learning Country Skills as children. Four such notable men include Louis Jollycoeur, Thomas Richards, John Lyons and Humphrey Favel. However, not all such young Country Born were able to negotiate high salaries, or even receive a formal contract. Some men were informally paid in goods, while others simply were the unpaid adolescent or teen aged sons of Company employees. No doubt the fathers of these young men (particularly officers) had been housing, clothing and feeding them at company expense, and in an informal reciprocal arrangement, they aided in carrying out duties in the event of a shortage of contracted labourers. It is also of interest that young Country Born men who worked for no formal salary for several years could find themselves in a good financial situation when, with their first contract, they received a rather high salary (ie John "Ram" Kipling) (Figure 8). It is also evident that the large number of highly paid low seniority labourers of European descent received their high salaries due to the shortage of available recruits in Europe. These individuals might well have become Country Skilled, but they received this high wage in the fourth and fifth years of their first five years of service because of labourer shortage in Europe. The Country Born and Canadians, because of their place of recruitment, would have been much less likely to be able (and perhaps less inclined) to exploit the European situation to their advantage. Furthermore, the only formally contracted Country Born labourers of low seniority who received low salaries were those men who served the company in the post 1810 Retrenchment Period. This issue will be addressed again in the context of the high seniority labourers. It is

also noteworthy that all of the non-Orcadian European labourers listed served in the post 1810 period, and at least two thirds of them were relatively well paid (Figure 8). As a final point of interest, the majority of low seniority Orcadian labourers received a salary that was marginally below the mean (Figure 8). This effect must not be considered to reflect that these men were poorly paid. Rather, it represents the skewing effect of the highly paid men upon the mean in light of the standard starting salary paid to new European recruits.

The records of the high seniority labourers illustrated in figure 9 indicate a quite different pattern. This figure indicates that a similar number of Country Born men were poorly and well paid, although it is apparant that a larger number of Country Born men were poorly paid than any other ethnic group represented (Figure 9). A review of the nature of work carried out by the men suggests that the highly paid Country Born men fulfilled somewhat more skilled work roles than normal. The most notable of these men was John Richards (Figure 9) who carried out numerous duties as a informal trader and officer. A review of figure 9 also indicates that the majority of well paid Country Born men were only moderately well paid, and with the exception of John Richards, achieved this high salary in the post retrenchment period. Similarly, the poorly paid Country Born men generally received these low salaries in the post retrenchment period (Figure 9) at the same time that low seniority Country Born men were also given low salaries (Figure 8).

When considering the Orcadians listed in figure 9 other interesting patterns emerge. Most of the low paid Orcadians served in the first ten to fifteen years of the 19th century at the height of the labourer shortage when the mean wage rose the most sharply (Figure 9). All of

these men were rather unremarkable in their work activities while at Brandon House when reference is made to Appendix 1. Perhaps these men failed to develop sufficient Country Skills to make them "marketable" at wage negotiation time in spite of the shortage of labourers. A consideration of the highly paid Orcadians reveals two or three categories of men. The first group consisted of John Linklater, Thomas Miller, Henry Lena, James Yorston, James Slatter (Sr), Thomas Norn and William Yorston (Figure 9). These men are notable for salaries that exceeded the norm by large margins, and reference to Appendix 1 indicates that these men all filled very important work roles as informal leaders, patroons, boatsteers and outpost masters. Several of these men also rose to the rank of officer (ie Thomas Norn and Thomas Miller), and they all served the Company in the pre-retrenchment era. These men were individuals of great ability and, in the context of the Bay Tradition, would have been considered men of no small social consequence, informal leaders and potential officers.

A second group of men consisting of William Ballentine, Hugh Johnson, and George Henderson formed a second well paid group in the pre 1810 period (Figure 9). However these men did not serve long at Red River, and their level of skills and responsibility is not sufficiently documented to comment on further.

The third group of well paid senior Orcadians received their high salaries at a time after the 1810 Retrenchment. These men were consistently only moderately well paid in a fashion similar to that received by well paid Country Born men at the same time (Figure 9).

In summary, Figure 9 implies a number of variables at work whose influences often run contrary to first expectations. It is evident that

informal leaders received dramatically higher wages than usual in the pre-1810 period in a fashion consistent with their responsibilities as leaders. It is also evident that relatively few such men were Country Born, possibly due to barriers imposed by the need for literacy.

In the post 1810 period dramatic changes are reflected by the paucity of highly paid labourers who served as leaders, informal officers and outpost masters, and the presence of a group of moderately well paid Country Born and Orcadian Country Skilled labourers whose salaries matched institutionalized wage ceilings. These wage ceilings will be addressed again later in this chapter. Furthermore, poorly paid high seniority labourers in the pre 1810 period consistently were Orcadians with rather unremarkable work histories (Figure 9). The one exception to this generalization was John Easter whose non-aggressive salary negotiation stance assured him a low salary throughout most of his career. It is extremely significant to note that this Country Skilled man's salary climbed substantially in the post-retrenchment era to a level that exceeded the norm (Figure 9 and 10). Apparently, with the institutionalization of salary scales after 1810, Easter's skills and non aggressive bargaining behavior assured that his salary reflected his value to the H.B.C. service. The final consideration is the phenonenon in the post 1810 period whereby poorly paid Orcadian senior labourers were no longer evident, and the only ethnic group that was underpaid were the Country Born men (Figure 9). This provides an interesting situation whereby, for the first time in the period under study, Country Born labourers received high and low salaries in a fashion that likely reflected their level of ability. This contrasts sharply with the lot of the highly skilled Orcadians who were paid at

the same scale as the well paid Country Born group, but no low skilled Orcadian senior men entered the category composed of poorly paid Country Born men. This would certainly suggest something of a double standard in the post 1810 period whereby Europeans were guaranteed a base salary within one standard deviation of the mean no matter what their level of skill, while Country Born men of lesser ability were afforded no such consideration. The implications of such developments will become evident in the latter part of this chapter.

Clearly, the general trends of the salary ranges of both high and low seniority men reflects, to a certain extent, the bargaining position of all labourers. In the case of the high seniority men, the leveling aspect of the mean salary curve after about 1806 (Figure 9) reflects the stress the H.B.C. was under due to the high levels of competition and poor markets for furs in Britain's wartime economy. These pressures, in turn, contributed to the implementation of the retrenchment policy which further weakened the upward trend in the salaries.

The lot of the low seniority men is more difficult to assess. Clearly, the upward spiral in salaries in the early years of the 1800's reflects the shortage of labourers resulting from the military demands of the Napoleonic Wars (Figure 8). However the collapse of the salary range between 1805 and 1811 does not necessarily reflect a collapse in their bargaining power (Figure 8). Reference to figure 8 indicates a sharp decline in the number of new recruits, and that this small number of European men received only the standard starting salary of L 8. The H.B.C. were probably able to maintain the inland post system only by utilizing the supply of young Country Born men who were not formally contracted (Figure 8). Furthermore, this time period is also

characterized by the availability of freemen willing to work for their room and board as they could not find other employment after the amalgamation of the X Y Company and the North West Company in 1805 (Figure 8). While these individuals did not receive a formal salary, they likely received some informal remuneration from the trade store that was written off in the cost of operating the post. This likelihood is given added substance with the continued high salaries given to low seniority labourers after the 1810 retrenchment, and the restoration of peace after the Battle of Waterloo in 1815 (Figure 8). Other factors contributing to the continuing high salaries were the recruitment of men at high salary rates for the Selkirk Settlement, and the policy of offering high salaries to Irish and Scots labourers to attract men in order to diversify the ethnic makeup of the Company's labour force (Figure 8). The collapse of the mean salary in the late 1810's and early 1820's possibly reflects the economic exhaustion of the two major trade companies prior to the signing of the 1821 Deed Poll. The end of competition served as a prelude to the collapse of both the numbers and the salaries of all labourers.

The data presented in figures 8 and 9 suggest a number of other variables, many of which are not directly pertinent to the present discussion. Some such variables which warrant an expanded discussion in other works might include a consideration of groupings of men based upon age, the issue of ethnicity, and the effect of these variables upon the salary scale. Other points of interest include the effect of inflation upon both the salary scale, and the purchasing power of the salaries. Figures 8 and 9 will again be considered briefly in the concluding chapter in the context of maximization and career planning strategies.

THE HIERARCHY AT BRANDON HOUSE

The identification of men whose salaries varied in a statistically significant fashion from the mean salary provides a useful starting point to consider the informal hierarchy at Brandon House and its outposts. Appendix 1 contains a series of tables that attempt to reconstruct this hierarchy on the basis of salary, seniority, experience in Red River, and upon the basis of the work done by each man.

On the basis of these tables and information available from other documents, the hierarchical "pecking order" can be viewed on a year to year basis. This hierarchy provides a view of individual men's progress throughout their careers in response to individual aspirations and to historic pressures. It should be pointed out that this hierarchy serves only as a rudimentary estimate of each man's position in the post. It can only hint at the personal relationships between men. These hierarchy tables must indulge in some speculation as the duties of all of the men are not necessarily listed. This could reflect the fact that they did not carry out tasks that were considered noteworthy, or that they might have been stationed at outposts where no records were kept. Furthermore, in the latter half of the study period, few journals have survived; thus the hierarchies must be reconstructed from the salary paid, and the years of experience of each man.

A detailed review of the data presented in Appendix 1 suggests a number of important themes that affected the lot of the men at Brandon House. These themes will be considered in light of important historic developments that had profound effects upon the men. A review of these developments at Brandon House identifies three general periods that are

summarized below.

1) The final years of the paternalistic hierarchy of the Bay Tradition in the interior hinterland (ie 1793 to 1809).

2) The period of conflict and adjustment to new post-Industrial Revolution management techniques characterized by the Retrenchmnet Policy (ie 1810 to 1815).

3) The period of the successful implementation of the new management techniques, the trade war era, and the amalgamation of the Hudson's Bay and North West Company (ie 1816 to 1821).

These periods and their effect will be discussed in turn below.

The Bay Tradition in an Inland Context

The rapid inland expansion of the Hudson's Bay Company operations in the latter half of the 18th century, particularly at the time of the Napoleonic Wars, contributed to great changes in the service. Brandon House, with its establishment in 1793 as one of the most far-flung outposts of the Albany Factory, provides an illustration of many of these changes. One of the most notable of these developments was the enhanced position of senior labourers possessing a wide range of Country Skills.

The importance of such men is illustrated in Table 5 which represents the trade season of 1793-94. During this year John Richards and James Yorston provided important skills and services to the post. They were highly skilled; Richards through his part Native heritage, and Yorston through his long service in Rupert's land. They were the primary boatsteerers and were important work and trade party leaders, carpenters, hunters and net makers (Table 5). Such men likely also contributed to the training of the young men at the post. Not surprisingly, these two men were well paid compared to all of the other labourers at Brandon House that year (Table 5).

With the shortage of officers, and with the need to establish outposts on many fronts, the most able of these senior men were often placed in charge of outposts. Some such men include John Linklater (Tables 6, 7), Thomas Miller (Table 7, 9 and 11), Henry Lena (Table 13) and Thomas Norn (Table 15). While these men remained at the formal rank of labourer, their role in the hinterland assured that they received high salaries as well as the numerous benefits of informal status. Such notable service earned many of these men promotion into the officer rank at some point in their careers. One such man was Thomas Miller whose career epitomized the rise to authority that many labourers aspired to. Miller began his career as a labourer, but began to distinguish himself during his second contract with his appointment as an Outpost Master (Figure 11). Miller's status and responsibility grew steadily in a fashion consistent with his salary (Figure 11), and is well illustrated in the Servant's Resolves books.

> 1798... his resolves have been mislaid some years ago. his wage less than he requested... A worthy faithful servant when in charge of O.H. <Osnaburgh House>. He acted well (agreed for 3 years from 1795 at L 18) (HBCA, PAM, A.30/7/52d, 53).
>
> 1799... requested L 25 for 2 years and L 30 for 1 deserves it is in charge of Brandon House acted well there after Mr. J. Sutherland death (agreed) (HBCA, PAM, A.30/8/8d, 9).
>
> 1800... requests L 40 per year, does well as Inland Master (to contract for 3 years at L 40) (agreed) (HBCA, PAM, A.30/10/8d, 9).
>
> 1803... stays another year at the Indian Elbow in Red River, but next year he wishes to go home (HBCA, PAM, B.3/f/1/4).
>
> 1804... Engaged in Red River for 2 years at L 50 pr annum. by Mr. John McKay (HBCA, PAM, B.3/f/2/2).
>
> 1807... wishes to return next year (HBCA, PAM, B.3/f/5/2d).
>
> 1808... Has gone this year as Master at Henley, it being found necessary to supercede Mr. Taylor for being ecessively given to liquor and unfit to have charge of a Post (HBCA, PAM, B.3/f/6/4).

Another illustration of the Bay Tradition of internal upward mobility is evident with the career of Henry Lena. He entered the service in 1787 (HBCA, PAM, A.16/5/98) as a labourer, with his status as a Boatsteerer being recognized as early as 1794 (HBCA, PAM, A.30/6/7d, 8) (Figure 12). In 1795 he was described as "a worthy lad" (HBCA, PAM, A.30/4/52d, 53). So worthy, in fact, that Chief Factor McNab described him as "one of our best steersmen" and if his salary requests were not accepted by the London Committee, McNab offered to pay the salary himself (HBCA, PAM, A.30/7/8d, 9). This man's abilities both as a leader and as a steersman, coupled with his knowledge of the water routes, led to his appointment to the position of "Patroon of Craft" in 1805 (HBCA, PAM, B.3/f/3/3d) (Figure 12). It is not known whether the position of "patroon of craft" was considered equivalent to that of an officer, but it is evident that the rise of such a man is consistent with the Bay Tradition of upward mobility.

Most labourers entered the service as inexperienced young men with an annual salary of L 6 and a contract for 5 years. This standard starting salary varied through time, with new recruits during the height of the Napoleonic War being offered L 8 for either 3 or 5 years. Labourers who had already acquired Country Skills could demand higher starting salaries. For example, Louis Jollycoeur received a starting salary of L 15 (Table 5). John Lyons, another experienced mixed blood labourer, was offered L 12 a year in 1797 for his first contract (Table 9). In 1796 Thomas Richards, the younger brother of the patroon John Richards, was also able to negotiate for a higher than usual starting salary even though he was only 16 years old (HBCA, PAM, A.30/8/9d, 10) (Table 7 and 8). The Servant's Resolves Book for 1796 records a senior

officers' reaction to Richards' negotiation of his first contract. "He thinks L 6 too little- he steers a batteaux this is his 2nd year (HBCA, PAM, A.30/7/10d-11)." Apparently Richards had been able to illustrate his abilities by offering his service for "free" to a chronically undermanned Inland Master the previous year. The Master, faced with the youth's undeniable abilities, likely suggested to the London Committee that his offer of service should be accepted at the increased salary of L 8 for only three years. This shorter term of service allowed Richards to renegotiate his contract two years earlier than his co-workers, thereby assuring a more rapid increase in salary over the rest of his term of service. No doubt the strength of Thomas Richards' position would have been supported by the influence and importance of his brother, John Richards.

It is interesting to note that not all such Country Born men were able to negotiate a high starting salary even though they appear to have had the necessary skills. For example, Hugh Linklater, another young man of 16 years of age (HBCA, PAM, A.30/8/7d, 8), was unable to negotiate for more than the standard L 6 per year. Perhaps this failure was due to his abilities being unproven, or because he lacked patronage links. The situation of Humphrey Favel is equally interesting. This man was a brother-in-law of John McKay (an inland officer). The appearance of Humphrey Favel in the Brandon House records in 1802 illustrates the effect of both patronage links and demonstrated Country Skills. McKay's glowing reports of Favel's accomplishments as a boatsteer, hunter, horseman and woodsman (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/10/1, 1d, 6d, 9; B.22/a/11/4) certainly suggest that the latter was well worth the L 20 per year that he received (Figure 14). The support offered by McKay is quite evident

in the London Committee's acceptance of Favel's engagement into the service.

> ... From the recommendation given of Humphrey Favil he is entered on our books and shall receive every encouragement which he may deserve and from the character which Mr. John McKay gives of him, we shall allow him L 20 per annum for the time he has been in the service- The articles which Mr. McKay order for him are sent by the ship (HBCA, PAM, A.6/17/31d).

The importance for the labourers of having the ear of an officer who was willing to look after their interests is implied by contrasting the case of Humphrey Favel with that of "Peiry" Sutherland, a Country Born labourer who served the H.B.C. without receiving a salary other than his bounty for five years (Table 10). Despite this lack of formal recognition, he appears to have been an important traveller, hunter and trader (Table 10 to 13). Perhaps Sutherland did not have the essential support and patronage links with an officer who could aid in expediting his case through the difficult administrative channels between the Bayside Factories and London.

A review of several of the tables in Appendix I suggests that, while all senior labourers received salaries greater than those of the junior men, relatively few such men received large salaries and occupied high positions within the senior labourer category. The most senior, most highly skilled, and most responsible of these men formed a corps of leadership that supplemented that of the officers. These men were usually those with the longest service or, in a few cases, men who exhibited exceptional leadership ability in spite of their relatively young ages. However, the upward mobility of many senior labourers appears to have been arrested at specific levels.

Such developments are illustrated by contrasting the role of James Slatter (Sr.) with that of Louis Jollycoeur. Slatter entered the service

in 1792 as a labourer. Despite his inexperience, this man appears to have been assigned duties that required some measure of Country Skill quite early in his career (Table 5, 6, and 7), and he quickly became an important member of the Brandon House work force. By 1797, after only six years of service, Slatter was one of the more important of the senior labourers (Table 9). He was considered so highly that he was placed in charge of both Mandan trade expeditions of that year (Table 9). Despite Slatter's senior role, his salary does not appear to reflect his informal work role and status (Table 9, 10 and 11) (Figure 4). This situation changed dramatically in 1801 with the appointment of John McKay as Master at Brandon House. Apparently, McKay took an interest in several key men under his charge, and succeeded in increasing Slatter's salary to a scale that properly reflected his work role (Figure 4, Table 13). At this time his salary began to exceed the "normal" range for high seniority labourers and effectively serves as a measure of his essential role at Brandon House (Figure 4). He, in effect, became a sort of "non-commissioned" officer whose unofficial role was officially recognized by his salary.

Louis Jollycoeur, on the other hand, entered the H.B.C. service in 1792 as an experienced labourer. This experience is evident with his starting salary of L 15 (Figure 13, Table 5). This man continued in the service until 1813. Throughout this period he served in a number of capacities that implied his Country Skills, however, his responsibilities and salary did not exceed a specific "plateau" (Figure 13). He remained a skilled labourer, hunter and traveller, but never distinguished himself as a trader or leader. Other such men with rather undistinguished careers include men such as James Short, Magnus Flaws

and George Groundwater. These men probably were of lesser consequence in the post community, carried out work roles of lesser prestige, and are referred to in the journals less frequently than the more important senior labourers.

It is evident that men who carried out important duties in the post were rewarded with high salaries and informal benefits that served as measures of their status. However, the role of patronage links could have a profound effect upon salary levels. For example, James Short, a labourer with a rather undistinguished work history, earned a large salary by 1802 (Table 14) (Figure 14). This salary does not appear to reflect the actual duties carried out, but rather, may imply the relationship between Short and John McKay. The former seems have served as John McKay's servant (HBCA, PAM, B.3/f/7/3), and may have earned the support of his supervisor in the renegotiation of his contracts. The decline of this man's fortunes after the death of McKay, and in response to the retrenchment policy, is evident in figure 14 and will be referred to again below.

An even more dramatic example of the effect of patronage links is implied by the career of Thomas Norn. As noted previously, this man had been appointed as an Outpost Master early in his career under the direction of John McKay, however Norn had refused a subsequent appointment. He continued to be employed in the same posting as McKay with a steadily increasing salary (Figure 6), but with generalized work responsibilities that do not appear to justify his high salary (Tables 14, 15 and 16). This is particularly evident in 1810 with the death of John McKay when a labourer named William Yorston took over command of the post even though Norn was available, and had been officially

appointed an officer the previous year. Evidently, Norn's salary and appointment as an officer was a function of the support of McKay rather than upon demonstrated abilities.

The situation of William Yorston provides an interesting contrast to that of men such as Norn, Miller and others who appear to have successfully made the transition from labourers, to senior labourers with the informal status and the work role of officers, and who finally "broke into" the officer category with formal recognition of their status. Yorston entered the service in 1796 as a labourer (Figure 15). After a few years as an untrained junior labourer, he began to distinguish himself as a hunter, trader and traveller (Table 11, 12, 13 and 14). As his experience and ability widened, he was called upon to act as a work party leader with increasing regularity (Table 15, 16 and 17) and rose to a rather high status among the labourers despite his low seniority, young age and modest income. By 1808, Yorston was given highly responsible duties as an Outpost Master, Summer Master, and Mandan trade leader (Tables 20 and 21), and can be considered to have held the highest status of the senior labourers. Despite this position, camparison of his salary with that of the men working under his supervision indicates that he was underpaid (Table 21). Perhaps the informal social benefits of his status made up for his relatively low salary, or perhaps he was patiently awaiting the opportunity to advance his case at the negotiation of future contracts. The career of this man will be discussed again in the context of the retrenching system.

Despite the importance of Country Skilled senior labourers with leadership abilities, the strength of their position must not be overstated. While not enough officers were available to take charge of

all of the outposts, young clerks were groomed for promotion so that they might supersede the senior labourers. Of particular note are the appearance at Brandon House of Thomas Bunn in 1799 and Joseph Boieley in 1808 (Tables 11 and 20). The careers of these men characterize an important category of H.B.C. servant. That is, they were young men of ability and education who started service in a junior officer, clerk or apprentice capacity at a relatively low salary, but once they proved themselves, rose within the service to become senior officers with relative rapidity. In the process of their training, they replaced the senior labourers as Outpost Masters, and had the effect of delaying the upward movement of senior labourers into the officer category. However, the small number of such men at this time assured that they did not seriously threaten the importance of the senior labourers.

Not all men succeeded in enhancing their financial and social position in a steadily upward fashion throughout their careers. In fact, some men, due to incompetence, failure, bad luck, or lack of patronage links suffered serious reversals. A case in point is that of a Superintendent of Craft named Mark Prince. A review of the commentary in the Servant's Resolves Books concerning this man indicates the degree of displeasure that the Albany Factor felt over him.

> 1793... is willing to contract for 3 years more at L 36 per year. He is unfortunately given to liquor which in his station is a great failing. He promises a stricter attention to sobriety (to return) (HBCA, PAM, A.30/5/56d, 57).
>
> 1797... says if your honours send out a vessel in frame as per indent, he will stay 3 years longer. <is> unfit for such a charge (to return) (HBCA, PAM, A.30/7/53d, 54).
>
> 1798... aged 40. remains this year at his old wages (to return) (HBCA, PAM, A.30/8/9d, 10).
>
> 1799... was obliged to send him inland (HBCA, PAM, A.30/9/9d, 10).

From their parenthetic comments, it is evident that the London Committee's evaluation of Prince's abilities mirrored the Chief Factor's as they repeatedly demanded that he "return" to Europe at the end of each contract. However, the shortage of men in the inland forced the Factor to retain this man despite orders to the contrary, and eventually Prince was sent to Red River. He was such a unsatisfactory employee that he had the dubious distinction of being the only H.B.C. servant who, after 18 years of service during a period of chronic manpower shortages, never received a raise in salary. Quite clearly, he was sent inland to carry out duties of low responsibility. Evidently, this low level of responsibility in the small inland posts "neutralized" the problem of his alcoholism, and he continued to plod along in the company service until 1807 (HBCA, PAM, A.16/26/121).

A final point of interest that characterizes the pre 1810 period was the appearance and disappearance of a number of freemen at Brandon House. Some of these men served the H.B.C. on an informal basis as labourers, interpreters and traders particularly in the context of the Mandan trade. Many of these men appeared in the Brandon House journals as freemen released from the service of the Montreal companies who offered their services to the H.B.C. in the hope of contracted employment. Many remained at Brandon House for a short time before "disappearing". A small minority of these men, specifically educated former junior officers such as Hugh Heney and John Stitt, eventually became officers in the H.B.C. The case of Hugh Heney is particularly interesting as this man figured prominantly in subsequent events in the Red River area. This man initially appeared at Brandon House in the company of a freeman from the Missouri River area in the 1804-05 trade

season. He unsuccessfully sought employment with the H.B.C., but succeeded in becoming employed by the X Y Company in charge of the post at Montaigne a la Boss (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/12/5d). However, the amalgamation of the X Y and North West Companies in 1805 resulted in Heney's release, his return to Brandon House, and his employment as a free trader in the Mandan trade (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/13/10). He also undertook duties as a clerk at no salary, and assisted Thomas Norn in other trade related duties (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/13/12, 14, 15d, 17d; A.16/26/37). Despite being an informal assistant to the Master, the author suspects that Heney's lack of a salary and precarious existence as a freeman did not assure him a particularly strong position in the hierarchy. It is further suspected that this weak position may well have figured in subsequent developments at Brandon House.

In summary, the era of rapid inland expansion in the social mileau of the Bay Tradition saw the enhancement of the role of the senior labourers with financial and social consequences for them. Specifically, men with a wide range of Country Skills, literacy, patronage connections, and with leadership ability succeeded in achieving a steady upward mobility. A significant minority of these men did succeed in becoming officers, and perpetuated by example the Bay Tradition. The majority of long term labourers could reasonably expect a steady increase in salary and informal benefits throughout their careers even though they might never achieve officer status. In fact, many men may not have sought such status given the social "costs" and stress linked with becoming an officer and leader.

Conflict and Adjustment to New Management Techniques

The 1810-11 trade season marks the beginning of a period of rapid and far-reaching changes throughout Rupert's land. The situation at Brandon House is particularly noteworthy and illustrates the effect of these developments quite dramatically. These changes, in the case of Brandon House, came from several directions, perhaps dating back several years and related to John McKay's chronic illness and his reliance upon the senior labourers, particularly Thomas Norn and William Yorston (Tables 17 to 21). His illness was so serious that he remained at Brandon House in the summer of 1810, and dispatched the spring brigade under the direction of Thomas Norn (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/17/24d). As his illness grew more debilitating, he turned the charge of the post over to William Yorston (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/18a/2). The extra responsibilities required of these men in order to carry out many of McKay's duties likely resulted in the enhancement of their status and postion in the hierarchy at Brandon House. The rapid undermining of the social position of these men in response to the 1810 Retrenchment likely sparked responses on their part which were more dramatic than occurred at other posts in Rupert's land at the same time.

On July 5 of 1810 John McKay died, leaving behind his orphaned family (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/18a/3). The return of Thomas Norn with the boats brought orders for the abandonment of Brandon House in the spring of 1811 (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/18a/4d). The fall and winter routine was carried out under Yorston's direction in spite of the presence of Norn with his newly acquired officer status. The failure of Norn to validate his pretensions of rank by assuming command of the post implies the strong position of Yorston. It would also suggest that Norn's promotion may well have been due to intervention by McKay, rather than on the

basis of clearly demonstrated ability.

In any case, the order to abandon the post was abruptly changed on Oct. 23, 1810 with the arrival of Humphrey Favel with a letter from Hugh Heney.

> This is to inform you that the Company is determined to keep up the Red River, also Brandon House. Therefore, I hope you'll not dispose of any of the horses, nor of anything belonging to the house till such time as I shall have the pleasure of seeing you, take no bad skins such as rabbits or any Summer Furrs, but trade as much of Beat Meat and fat as you can <signed> Hugh Heney (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/18a/6d).

After Hugh Heney's acceptance into the H.B.C. service in 1806, he had spent several years as a trader along the Red River before travelling to Europe in the fall of 1809 (HBCA, PAM, B.3/f/7/1d). He seems to have chosen a very fortuitous time to visit Europe since he was in a position to offer advice to the London Committee regarding plans for the initial stages of the "Retrenchment Policy" (HBCA, PAM, B.3/f/7/1d). In any case, Heney returned to Rupert's land in the spring of 1810 with Thomas Vincent and William Auld, the newly appointed Governors of the Northern and Southern Departments, with instructions to implement the reorganization of the company (HBCA, PAM, B.22/z/1). These plans saw the transfer of Brandon House from the Albany Factory, to part of the new Winnipeg Factory of the Northern Department. This new policy also affected the price of goods and greatly modified the system of accounting and cost justification (HBCA, PAM, B.22/z/1). As would be expected, such a vast administrative change would inevitably suffer from confusion. This certainly was the case in the fall and winter of 1810. These problems seem to centre around the arrival of Hugh Heney and Archibald Mason in the Red River area.

Just prior to Heney's arrival at Brandon House, a labourer arrived

there from Swan River with written instructions regarding the Retrenchment from Alexander Kennedy for Heney and the deceased McKay. William Yorston opened the letter in his capacity as temporary Master and probably learned of some of the impending changes. The messenger also told the Brandon House men of news that the price of goods purchased by them was to rise to a new standard the following year (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/18a/7, 7d).

Heney, upon his arrival at Brandon House, took over control of the post from Yorston, and immediatly implemented an increase in the price of goods to the men. The men approached Heney over the issue, and Heney's version of the resultant confrontation is cited below.

> ...gave orders for the next day Employment to the Men "they would not work till such times that the Price of Slops would be reduced to the Old Standard" was their answer... Wrote down to the Men that whoever refused his Duty I could not supply them with victuals they must take <to> the plains and shift for themselves till the spring. They returned an answer that they did not refuse their duty and they wished that the price of Slops as Mr. Kenedy's Man had informed them and wished I could assurred them that what they had bought to the day I arrived should be at the old price of 1809 which I gave them without hesitation (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/18a/7d).

After this issue was "resolved", life returned to normal at Brandon House despite an undercurrent of tension that pervaded the post. Much of this tension seems to be related to the deteriorating personal relationship between Archibald Mason and Hugh Heney. Archibald Mason also seems to have missrepresented himself to the Brandon House men. He was sent to Rupert's land to assess the agricultural potential of the Red River area, and its suitability for development (HBCA, PAM, B.22/z/1/2d, 13d). However, Mason seems to have implied that he was an agent of the London Committee who was to report on the actions of the men and officers (HBCA, PAM, B.22/z/1/11). While it seems odd that

Mason's story would have had much effect upon the more responsible long term labourers, the confused state of affairs over the retrenching policy, the disenchantment with Heney, and the lack of information seems to have given some credence to Mason's assertions that

> the advance prices of the Company's Goods was a mere fabrication between Mr. Vincent <the Governor of the Southern Department>, Mr. Heney and <Mr. Auld, the Governor of the Northern Department> on the voyage out from England last summer... (Auld to Yorston 1811; HBCA, PAM, B.22/z/1/13).

In any case, the tense state of affairs at Brandon House finally broke when, in the evening of Febuary 24, 1811, Heney and Mason quarrelled while intoxicated (HBCA, PAM, B.22/z/1). William Yorston's version of the subsequent events are recorded in the House journal.

> A dispute having arisen late last night between Mr. Hugh Heney and Mr. Archibald Measson, and what it concerned is beyond my knowledge, but after the dispute was ended, Mr. Mason came in the Tradesmen House, and fell asleep, about 1/2 an hour after came in Mr. Heney in the fore-mentioned House (with his Brace of Pistols on him) and, enquired if Mr. Mason was there- to which the men answered in the affirmative (yes) and in Bed. The Men on the instant disarmed him and told him it was not customary for Masters to go amongst their men armed and also said they would no longer be under his subjections or orders and whenever the Hon'ble Company thinks proper to call them home concerning this Behavior they are ready to plead their cause. And many other such things passed between Mr. Heney and Men, which is too tedious here to relate, as I cannot give their reason why- but finding the house in want of a Master I undertook it and manage the Business to the best of my knowledge <signed> William Yorston (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/18a/11).

While the events of that evening and the following days are of some dispute between the various parties to the confrontation, it is evident that Heney left Brandon House bound for Pembina House. However, upon his arrival there, he encountered Archibald Mason and several Brandon House men who had followed him. A second confrontation quickly developed between Mason and Heney. This argument was recorded by William Plowman, the cooper at Pembina House.

> Mr Mason and the men that came with him came in unto Mr. Stitt's room and when Mr. Heney seed him he <Mason> said well and what the devil has brought you here and Mr. Heney said I have come to take the overhaul of the Company's warehouse and Mr. Mason said you shall not get it and Mr. Heney said I shall and then Mr. Mason said I shall see you dammed first and then he gave Mr. Heney very abusive language and Mr. Heney asked him where was his authority and he said why am I used in this manner and Mr. Mason said where is your authority and Mr. Heney said I have the Governor's letter and Mr. Auld's and that may be sufficient to show you and Mr.Mason said you have plenty to say before the Company in England but little here and that he was a dammed vagabond and that he would do for him and that he was going now in his long coat and Boots but he would make him go in his Indian Coat and Bretch Cloth as he had done before at the Rocky Mountains. and Mr. Heney said you cannot prove that and Mr. Mason said I can and plenty more and gave him more abusive language and then Mr. Heney spoke to him concerning the company and committee and Mr. Mason said that he and the governors and superintendents and the whole was a parcel of dammed Raskals together and that the company was a parcel of Jack asses for agreeing such dammed raskals and Mr. Heney said you must be a great man indeed that calls the whole that and the Company a parcel of Jackasses and you will better mind what you say all this time. Mr. Mason paid no attention unto Mr. Heney But still abusing him more and more... (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/1/9d, 10).

The comment concerning Heney's transformation from being clothed in an Indian Coat and "bretch" cloth, into a gentleman in a long coat and boots can be considered a slur upon Heney's origins as a freeman from the Mandan Villages. It was an attack upon Heney's status and gentility as an officer of the Hudson's Bay Company, and implies the level of hatred that Archibald Mason manifested towards Heney. This aspect of Heney's past may well have contributed to the lack of respect and trust that the men had for him; perhaps explaining the ease with which Mason discredited him. The acrimonious nature of the relationship between Heney and Mason, and to a lesser extent the labourers, is even more evident in a letter written by Mason to the Pembina River men.

> There have been much confusion in this place for a time past, which is now at a final end, that is concerning Heney's undertakings and Proceedings, of which you will presently be informed by the Bearers hearof, how <he?> cast some curious capers of his own, with regard to Prices of Goods, etc, etc,

> finding himself on his last legs, in sending off his Wedded wife <ie Country Wife> and taking Master McKay's eldest daughter, which did not hapen <sic>, in order to get his hands on the Ducates money finding himself short of cash in going to England- all plans being completed, Sabath night, took some Grog to quicken his spirit, Rangled with me, who left his presence, Armed himself among the Men as usual, then was <?> of and taken off him without injury, afterwards believing he was to Die, and take life of others- he leaves the house on Monday goes to the Freemans Tent and got a Gun and Ammunition and other supplys, and take Yellowlegs a Freeman with him for Pabina, in case of Danger, sends off several of our Men to warn you of his arrival, - therefore cease hold of him and keep him safe as its our Intention to take him to London,- the whole charge is given to William Yorston, who deserves it... (HBCA, PAM, B.22/z/1/12).

The tone of Mason's letter implies that some sort of conspiracy was undertaken to carry out the mutiny. This is in marked contrast to the versions presented by all of the men except one (HBCA, PAM, B.22/z/1). There is no means of confirming Mason's allegations, although Heney did draw over L 200 from his account with the H.B.C. in less than six months while in England in 1809 (HBCA, PAM, A.16/7/65).

If there was some credence to Mason's remarks concerning Isabella McKay and Heney's designs upon her, it might well have caused further resentment upon the part of the long term labourers at Brandon House who were either her kinsmen (ie the Favels and the McKays), or had served for long periods of time under her father's direction.

In any case, when Alexander Kennedy arrived at Brandon House in the spring of 1811, he found a firmly entrenched William Yorston in control of the post. Yorston was also rather embittered and very suspicious of any authority figure. After endeavoring to determine whether the Brandon House men would accompany him to York Factory, Kennedy wrote of Yorston's reaction.

> he gave me no satisfactory answer, but seemed displeased that I had not brought the Company's papers to him, as he said he considered no man in this country to be his master, the Hudson's Bay Company only were his Masters, and to them he would be

> answerable for his conduct... He said the men found themselves imposed on, and ill-treated by Mr. Heney, who had put extravagent prices on all the goods, and went amongst them always with his arms on, which they were not accustomed to. He never spoke to them, called them Orkney Hogs, and let them have nothing that they wanted when ordered to go on the Company's duty, that the men wished Archibald Mason to take charge which he refused, they then jointly with Archibald Mason insisted on his (Yorston's) taking charge which he did... I asked him, what was the reason he appeared so very reserved? Why did he not open his mind and express himself fully as I did to him- He said that he found himself slighted, "that he was looked upon as nobody" with a parcal of stuff of that kind that I did not think worth while paying attention to, at last he expressed his being dissatisfied at not being presented with the Company's papers... I then told him that <not>withstanding what had past if he would return to a sense of his duty, and go out to York with me, or remain Inland as might be required, I should interest myself in his favor and do all I could for him.. If on the contrary, I was obliged to go to York and join Mr. Heney in his accusation against him he might depend on being a ruined man. He told me that was a piece of villanry to join him or Mr. Heney, he did not thank me for my interest, for he wanted no man's Interest. He would justify himself before the company, I replied it was immaterial to me how such a fellow or scoundrel as he might misconstrue my words... (HBCA, PAM, B.22/z/a/1, 1d).

The situation was one fraught with tension and recrimination as Yorston appears to have felt a great deal of resentment over his treatment by the senior officers of Rupert's land. That is, despite his rapid increases in salary to a level more in keeping with his responsibilities (Table 22, Figure 14), Yorston appears to have felt slighted and unfairly superseded by the appointment of Heney as Master at Brandon House. This is not surprising given the fact that Yorston would, with some bitterness, remember the relatively high status that he had enjoyed while Heney was still a freeman in his "Indian coat and bretch cloth". The rapid rise of Heney within the H.B.C. service, coupled with his personality flaws and his attitude towards Orcadians could not help but cause resentment on Yorston's part as the latter saw his ambitions thwarted. No doubt the allegations of Archibald Mason and the uncertainty caused by the retrenchment policy, caused this

resentment to flower into the suspicion and confrontational attitude that Kennedy described. Yorston must also be considered a spokesmen of the resentment and confusion that the labourers must have felt as they saw Heney change the rules that governed the informal benefits described in the previous chapter.

It is also evident that the "mutinous behavior" on the part of Yorston and his men did not reflect an anger towards the company per se, but rather, what they considered to be the unacceptable behavior of Heney and their distrust over the retrenching policy which had not been adequately explained to them. This inadequate briefing was not necessarily the fault of Heney as letters from the Rupert's land Governor indicates that the details of the new system were to be kept confidential even from Orcadian officers.

> we hope for your approbation and acquiesience in the propriety of acting agreeably to our opinions on the subject of the printed regulations (a number of which are now sent you by the Hon'ble Board are in the packet box) describing the future manner in which the trade is to be carried on. But from our total want of success in procuring men in the Highlands and Western Islands of Scotland there are parts in the regulations which reflect on the character of the Orkney servants so pointedly that in our present state of entire dependence on them it would be extremity of folly to irritate them so unnecessarily as would be the case on their becoming acquainted with what may even have ill effects on the minds of several excellant and worthy Officers now in the service who are natives of the same Islands and who perhaps may feel themselves included in the censure there recorded. We therefore earnestly recommend to you to conceal all these regulations from your Officers so that no possible chance may allow of their contents getting among the lower servants at least for this year... At the same time we by no means desire to restrain you from complying with the regulations only enforcing them from your own private authority which is amply sufficient (HBCA, PAM, B.42/b/54/1).

No copies of these secret instructions could be located, but clearly they can be considered to have been an attack upon the position of the labourers in general, and the Orcadians in particular. Obviously,

the officers were placed in an extremely difficult situation whereby they were to undertake sweeping and controversial changes within the inland service without using their specific and written authority. Perhaps this explains the attitude of Kennedy and Heney towards informing the men of the new system.

In addition to carrying out the routine activities of trade after the mutiny, Yorston and the Brandon House men also set about construction of a new post a short distance upstream from the old one. This was undertaken without authority, but with the intention of establishing the post in a new location that was better protected from horse thieves, and which offered a better supply of firewood (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/18a/11d). Perhaps Yorston ordered such a move as a signal to his superiors of his abilities. However Kennedy pointed out that "when he <Yorston> took to himself the merit of forwarding such a piece of work in a short time I told him that a thing done contrary to orders was sure to be wrong be it ever so right" (HBCA, PAM, B.22/z/1/3). This sense of the bureaucratization of the H.B.C. decision-making process was to become an increasingly important theme that affected the men's attitudes towards the service.

Yorston seems to have survived the immediate ramifications of the mutiny, perhaps because he was the most suitable man to act as Summer Master. One suspects that the senior officers in charge of the Winnipeg Factory, fearing the regard that the labourers had for Yorston, dared not release him until they were in a position of strength.

The process of implementing the changes of the Retrenchment Policy required several years to accomplish in face of continued distrust and resistence from the labourers. This resistance on the part of the Red

River men (formerly of the Albany Factory), served to confirm the prejudices of the Northern Department officers regarding their newly acquired men. This attitude is readily apparent in the correspondence between William Sinclair and William Auld in 1811.

> The Albany people from the Red River having long been accustomed to a management considerably different from the people in the north. I would recommend you divide them as widely as you can so that they have no contenance from their numbers to continue that indolent system of relaxed discipline that owes its origin I fear chiefly to some of their superiors... With regard to the allowance <for provisions> to officers and men belonging to Albany for the present I would put them exactly on the same footing as the officers and people belonging to Y.F. I think it will require you particularly to guard against large indents from Red River (HBCA, PAM, B.42/b/54/4, 4d).

The assertion that the Albany Factory men were the source of all dissatisfaction appears to have been rather inaccurate as Alexander Kennedy noted in 1812 that

> Mr. Garriock complains for want of men at Swan River and what is more the few he has got are very refractory. It appears the infection is spreading that began or rather broke out here last year and until some steps are taken effectively to crush that spirit of disobediance and contempt of orders, it will not cease (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/18b/9).

It is unlikely that Kennedy's assertion of mutinous behavior "spreading" to Swan River is correct. Perhaps a more acceptable explanation is that the unrest over the retrenching policy was what was spreading throughout Rupert's land.

The concerns of the senior officers to carry out the retrenchment policy confidentially so as to not alienate the Orcadians was likely the product of the policy of labour diversification. This diversification was designed to break the bargaining power of the Orcadian labourers by destroying their sense of solidarity based upon ethnicity. By enlisting labourers from previously untapped regions of the British Isles, the London Committee hoped that the behavior described in the previous

chapter could be stopped.

> The Men whom you will receive will be from various places and in their destination, the circumstance is to be kept in view. We expect Men will be procured from Orkney and Caithness, at Glasgow, in the Hebrides by Mr. McLean and from Ireland by Mr. Everard... We have intentionally put under <Mr. Hillier's> command a set of completely new Men in order that the habits of subordination which he undertakes to establish among them may not be deranged by any communication with men accustomed to a more relaxed state of discipline. We are aware that under this arrangement, he must experience considerable difficulties from the want of local knowledge and experience among his people, but this we trust you will in a great degree be enabled to supply by selecting a few choice and trusty men to serve with them as guides. In this view also we desire that you will transfer to the East Winnipeg Factory all the Canadians now in the Company service, or at least as many of them as are within reach... (HBCA, PAM, A.6/18/27, 28).

Despite the desire to acquire and train new men in an "uncontaminated" atmosphere, it is readily apparent that even the London Committee realized that no inland trade could be carried out without the availability of Country Skilled men; be they Orcadian, Country Born or Canadian.

It may well have been advisable to separate the new men from the old as it would appear that the company was beginning a campaign to adjust the salary scales of the labourers:

> it will be necessary to avoid as far as possible mixing the new men with any of the old, who are on a more advantageous footing as to ratios or other circumstances which may tend to excite unpleasant feelings. You must in general pay attention not to disgust the Men now sent out, taking care, on the other hand, not to spoil them by improper indulgence. It will also be proper, if any of the old servants object to be on the same footing with the new, to send home as many as can be spared, and when they find plenty of Men coming out and that their Services are not necessary it is probable they will readily agree to the new arrangement (HBCA, PAM, A.6/18/19).

Encouraging recruitment by means of offering high starting salaries was only one of several divisive elements that increased the tension in Rupert's land. The fine line between "improper indulgence" and

"disgusting new men" clearly reflects the conflicting instructions that characterized the early retrenchment era. This balance, in all probability, was impossible to establish due to institutionalized inequalities in the European contracts, and as the officers were told in no uncertain terms of the importance of not alienating the new recruits (HBCA, PAM, A.6/18/26).

The new policies of labour diversification aimed at breaking the power of the Orcadian labourers only marked one element of the new, tougher, more aggressive and business-like H.B.C. management of the retrenchment era. The new attitudes and ideas brought to the company by Andrew Wedderburn, Lord Selkirk and their associates reflected an orientation which strove to correct the unbusinesslike practises of the past, and develop new techniques of management which were rooted in the British Industrial Revolution. This new orientation threatened not only the labourers, but also attacked the informal social fabric of the Rupert's land trade system that had evolved over the life of the company. One example of such an attack is cited from the 1809 General Letter.

> It has not escaped our notice that various articles of our consignments are expended through channels quite unconnected with trade or necessary presents to trading families. We know of instances in which articles have disappeared on arrival as if they were customary Presents from us, without any thought of their being accounted for otherwise than by a practise which has too long prevailed to the scandal of the service and those employed in it. We are fully informed that many articles which appear as trading Goods are not disposed of in that manner and that all defencies are finally accounted for under the delusive title of Presents etc- The apparent Amount of which is however diminished by a very different standard of Trade from that on which you keep your accounts with us... We therefore request you will send us in reply, signed by our chiefs and all the Inland Traders present, a distinct note of all the articles of your usual indent that are traded for on the real standard <and> which you barter with the Natives (HBCA, PAM, A.6/17/155d, 156).

These new accounting procedures were designed to control "corruption" within the service by modifiying them in order to plug administrative loop holes. It also had the effect of exposing and attacking the informal system of remuneration and gratuity which provided a number of informal benefits to men living and working in the inland. Any move against this informal system would immediately affect contracted and noncontracted labourers, the Native and Country Born dependents of the posts, and Natives who were employed on a piece work basis. Without a doubt, the lax accounting procedures had permitted corruption to develop through private trade and misappropriation of goods. However, these new accounting procedures had the net effect of attacking the informal accomodations that had evolved through time in Rupert's land in order to permit officers some latitude in adjusting to local conditions. Clearly, such a development would have had a profound effect upon the attitudes and perceptions of people associated with the H.B.C., and would have added to the sense of disquiet that swept through Rupert's land.

The policy of strict rules of accounting and careful regulation of expenditures also seems to have included attempts to cut the costs of carrying out the trade. The post journal of 1811-12 at Brandon House suggests that these austerity measures included a rise in the price of goods bartered to Natives. While Alexander Kennedy seems to have been unaccustomed to the attitude and aggressive approach of the Indians who traded at Brandon House, it is also evident that much of the difficulties he described were the product of the increased trade standard (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/18b/1d, 2).

One of the most immediate implications of the retrenching policy

for the labourers was the revocation of the bounties and premiums that most men received for inland service prior to this time. The affect of such developments is readily apparent when viewing figures 10, 13 and 14.

The new rates of pay, premiums and rationing of provisions met with stiff opposition from the H.B.C. labourers. The most sustained and acrimonious of these debates centred upon the issue of the allocation of food. While the levels of consumption by the labourers may seem excessive by modern standards, it is evident that the men felt justified in objecting to the ration cuts.

> April 1, 1812: Our people from the hunting tent arrived with part of the meat of 5 cows- being all the meat they say that are there. The remainder of the 10 cattle they say they required for their dogs and themselves to live on after leaving a little for the people who remained there. Such a set of dam'd careless, uninterested fellows (for their employers) I never met with before in the country. they do not care how much they destroy nor will they ever be better in this quarter until they are dispersed and some examples made of them, for they have been so long accustomed to do and say as they please that they have entirely forgot (that is to say if ever they were possessed of the properties) that belong to good servants (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/18b/13d).

This dispute surfaced again, and the resultant confrontation implies an undercurrent of resentment and suspicion that went far beyond the issue of food.

> the people sent word to me that they wanted fat to eat with their meat which I refused them, having served them out 56 lbs only 8 days ago. They again sent me word they would not go to work unless they were served out fat with their meat, I then went into the men's house and tried to convince them of the unreasonablness of their demands in expecting to be served out 71 lbs of Fat per day for 10 men besides 7 pounds of Fresh meat per man with as many potatoes as they could eat, but no reason could I get from them they told me they were used worse than slaves and that it was not the company's orders, or if it was, why were they not shewn it for they had as great a right to see it as their masters. After a good deal of altercation (in vain) I told them they should have fat but upon these conditions that they should pay for it at the price that should be set upon it. Severals of

> them swore they should not pay for it. Thomas Mason, John Isbister, William Bews and William Sinclair were the principal speakers and most insolent fellows (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/18b/14, 14d).

The men seem to have resisted the new changes by resorting to the threat of work stoppage which they had used so effectively prior to 1810. Unfortunately, this tactic further confirmed the prejudices of the Northern Department officers, and likely strengthened their resolve to destroy the labourer's bargaining position.

The salaries of the officers were also directly affected by the retrenchment policy. In an attempt to encourage greater effort and activity upon the part of the H.B.C. officers, the London Committee introduced a profit sharing system. By this means, all officers were to receive a standardized base salary (usually L 50) which was supplemented by a fixed percentage of the fur yield from the district within which he worked (HBCA, PAM, A.6/17/157, 157d; A.6/18/18, 19).

Another element of the dissatisfaction and uncertainty of 1811 were rumours that the H.B.C. agent in Stromness was linked to financial irregularities concerning the accounts of labourers of whom he also was an agent (HBCA, PAM, A.6/18/36, 37). In the capacity of agent to the labourers, he was given authority by the men to collect the balance of their wages from the Company, and invest these monies on their behalf. These rumors and the concern that they caused was well founded, since it was reported in 1818 that the Geddes firm was bankrupt, and that the labourers who retained their accounts with this firm could expect great difficulties in retrieving their career earnings (HBCA, PAM, A.6/19/56d, 57). While this development cannot be considered the fault of the H.B.C., the link between Geddes and the Company can certainly have been expected to have added to the growing dissatisfaction with long Rupert's

land service.

During the early stages of the retrenchment era the distrust and acrimony seems to have been expressed against the officers who implemented the new system. The labourers were suspicious not of the intentions of the Company, but rather, suspected that new officers such as Heney and Kennedy were trying to cheat them. These officers had been ordered to implement the new policies on their own authority, and not validate their actions by presenting their written orders to the men. This, of course, served to confirm the labourers' suspicions.

The aggressive practices of the Company in curbing the labourers does not seem to be based in an explicit intention of cheating them. Rather, the Company's intentions described in the 1811 General Letter indicate an attempt to standardize the salary scales, and establish a lower salary plateau to which the labourers could aspire.

> You will strictly observe the following resolutions respecting the wages of our servants in all your contracts with those who remain in the Bay. In future the wages of Labourers are on no account to exceed L 20 per annum. Mechanics and Steersmen are, with the approbation of the Superintendent of your district, to be rewarded according to their merit in their several departments but in no case to exceed L 30 per annum- Master carpenters, Masters Boatbuilders and Master Blacksmiths are to be rewarded also in proportion to their merits, but in no case to exceed L 45 per annum. Writers are to be limited to L 40 per annum but no bounty or other allowance of any kind are to be given as heretofore (HBCA, PAM, A.6/18/58).

This directive seems to have been immediately implemented with the negotiation of the first contracts of "Peask" Thomas and John "Ram" Kipling at L 20 per annum, two young Country Born men who had worked for several years previously at no formal salary (Tables 20 to 23). By way of contrast, John Favel, another County Born man, was engaged in the service one year previous to this directive. He was granted only the former standardized first contract salary of L 8 (Table 23). It is also

interesting to note that some men, in spite of their seniority, suffered wage rollbacks at the renegotiation of new contracts in keeping with the above directive. The situation of James Short is an important case in point (Figure 14).

The conflicts of the 1811-12 season involving William Yorston, and his involvement in the 1811 mutiny seem to have resulted in him leaving the service or, rather, being sent home as an example. It would appear that Yorston was the only man immediately released from the service (Table 23). Perhaps the continued shortage of men, despite the labour diversification program, made it impossible to release many men until replacements were forthcoming. However, reference to Tables 25, 26 and 27 do indicate that this period saw an uncommonly large number of long term and Country Skilled men leaving the service.

The hardening of attitudes towards the labourers, the prejudices of the Northern Department officers, and the diversification program had an almost vindictive element that was vocalized by many of the senior officers. This is apparent in William Auld's 1811 letter to Thomas Thomas.

> I...am pleased to hear that Mr. Vincent <the Southern Department Governor> has substantiated his intentions at home, to reduce the Expenses of that place, but I fear he presides over the greatest rascals this service can boast of. I am told that owing to the long absence of all sense of Duty and discipline, the Men of A.R. are become the common Reproach of their Native Country and their Fellow servants, at the same time and if we are to take those at Brandon House as a fair sample they are assuradly more fit to inhabit near another Bay where there are not only Black Swans, but a great Black guards as themselves...
> P S have put the Boxes, Chests and Parcels of the Albany Men now out who belong to Red River into the Company's warehouse, being determined make them answer as far as they are worth for the waste and plunder committed on the Company's property by their owners, and I think a similar precaution should be taken if any of these mutineers have stopt at Albany. You will get much information from young McKay who was a witness of the whole scene and is now with you below as I learn. Thomas Norn is guilty no

> doubt and well conversant in the whole mystery from beginning to end (HBCA, PAM, B.3/b/48a).

It is worth noting that Norn was found not guilty of any wrong doing (HBCA, PAM, B42/b/57/26d). However, he chose to leave the service in 1812 after 25 years in Rupert's land (HBCA, PAM, A.16/7/63). The officers also overlooked the fact that during the 1810-11 trade season, Brandon House was equipped with only two boats (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/18a/4d), and that the men were ordered to be very selective in the furs traded (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/18a/6d). The net effect of these circumstances all contributed to the drop in fur yield which was blamed on the mutiny.

The attempts to reduce the level of unrest by breaking the power of the Orcadians, to instill a "proper sense of discipline", and to diversify the labour force also appears to have been less than the success that was anticipated. William Auld's 1812 description of the events in the East Winnipeg area indicates the tension that could develop from an ethnically mixed complement of men.

> ...The Irishmen of the <Hillier> Party with only 1 or 2 exceptions made a grand attempt to destroy a house full of poor Orkney creatures as they were going to Bed on the night of 1 Jan. Had not the Officers been called Murdered <?> for no earthly Reason assigned but I suppose the characteristic fondness of an Irishmen for a Row having had none since they left Stornaway, two are to be sent home as capital Felons, a third who is equally guilty, but is of the right kidney or clan, being not only a McDonell, but a powerful Ruffian ... The Scotchmen from Glasgow revolted from McDonell on 12 Feb whom they grossly insulted, they have since been living independent and owing to some rascally interference of one, two or more of the new writers, they set me too at Defiance since my arrival 7 or 8 weeks ago... if the Hon'ble Committee send more Irishmen, there will be a Termination to the Trade and existence of the Company together, both Scotch and Orkneymen <?>, had it not been for timely Interference, the only quiet Hibernian in the Party would have been destroyed by his country men who were about roasting him for a heretic, he being a solitary Protestant... (HBCA, PAM, B.3/b/48a/44d).

Despite this sense of unrest, or perhaps because of it, the London

Committee made some attempts to adjust the working conditions to improve the lot of the labourers. One such accomodation was the decision in 1812 to offer the men 5% interest on credit accounts (ie salaries) that the men left in the Company's hands rather than having it invested through their agents (HBCA, PAM, A.6/18/77). The H.B.C. also appears to have striven to accomodate the needs of their Rupert's land employees by offering them a "1/5 reduction from invoice prices" for all articles except alcohol purchased from the Company (HBCA, PAM, A.6/18/27). Furthermore, an effort was also made to establish some sense of long term regularity in pricing for goods sold to the men so that the men would know from year to year what prices would be and to remove one element of unrest.

> it may be proper to frame a list of Prices of articles usually required by the Men conformable to the rate of Price fixed last year and that the Men be informed for the next 3 years these prices will be charged to them. This ought to be general over all the Factories, and it should be explained to the Men distinctly that at the end of the Period the prices will be new regulated according to the prices paid here. This being equally the concern of the officers in Hudson's Bay and the Company, it appears reasonable to attend to their suggestion on this subject and it will set the Men's minds at ease instead of becoming a cause of complaint every year (HBCA, PAM, A.6/18/83, 84).

By the 1813-14 trade season the labourer diversification program appears to have been increasingly successful in introducing larger numbers of Franco-Canadian, Irish and Scottish labourers into the service (Table 25). However, by referring to the "total years of service" column in Table 25, it is evident that most of these new recruits remained in the service for relatively short periods of time. Long term labourers continued to be found among the Country Born, Canadian and Orcadian men (Table 25). Furthermore, despite the London Committee's announced intention of curbing salary scales, the wartime

shortage of men in Europe forced them to continue recruiting at high salaries (HBCA, PAM, A.6/18/98).

Also of note is the continued loss of senior labourers whose service in Red River dated from the Albany Factory jurisidiction. Two such men were Louis Jollycoeur and Thomas Mason (Table 25). It is not known whether these men represent the company's efforts to purge the service of "troublemakers", older men who wished to retire, or disgruntled labourers leaving the service. It might also represent the Company's efforts to remove older labourers with large families in order to save on the large quantities of provisions needed to feed them.

The middle of the 1810's saw the appearance of new pressures upon all employees of the H.B.C. as increased levels of competition with the N.W.C. sparked increasingly violent reactions. This violence grew increasingly serious on two fronts, notably the "Athabasca Country", and along the Red and Assiniboine Rivers. In the latter case much of this increased tension arose from the initial establishment (and destruction) of Lord Selkirk's colony. The political and economic pressures that caused this conflict are described in Chapter 3, and need no more detailed attention here. However, the conflict seriously affected the physical and economic well-being of most men in the H.B.C. service. The officers who were paid in part on a profit sharing basis, found that the increased competition had the effect of reducing the fur yield (and profit share) at the same time that they faced greater hardship and danger. Conversely, officers in "safe" territories where competition was not so fierce, enjoyed a larger fur yield and a greater share of the profit. This was resolved by further fine tuning of the profit sharing system so that the profit of the whole department was pooled and then

divided equitably (HBCA, PAM, A.6/18/109). It is apparent that the new standardized salary scales were not welcomed by the officers. They seem to have prefered the old system based upon individual merit, bargaining and possibly patronage links, and unsuccessfully strove to retain the older system in spite of the new policies.

> In future no officer can make better terms for himself by his return to Europe, it is one of the great advantages resulting from the new system that the Emolument <sic> of the different officers are fixed and they cannot be changed by any representations however plausible that may be made to us, their destinations are left in the first instance to your sole appointment subject to our approval and the scale by which their Emolements <sic> will be measured depends entirely upon the Rank to which they may be raised (HBCA, PAM, A.6/18/107).

The retrenching policy, while striving to encourage officers, also introduced very complex and detailed accounting procedures. This new system strove to calculate the actual cost of production and transportation of the goods, and whether the return of furs really did result in a profit. If a profit was not apparent, the new system was visualized as being able to trace through the accounts to identify the stage (or individual) which created the extra cost that ate up the profit (HBCA, PAM, A.6/18/42, 114-116). It would appear that this system did not account for local conditions, shortages of furs, competition, or the social obligations expected of the officer in charge as part of the trade exchange. Furthermore, the baffling array of accounting procedures which faced marginally educated inland officers probably defeated many attempts to adjust to the new system. The London Committee proved to be rather unforgiving of any failures to produce a profit as evident in a passage from the 1813 General Letter.

> We fear many of the Traders have been so little accustomed to accounts that they do not consider their circumstances but imagine that the value of the furs exceed the invoice prices of the Goods bartered for them that they are trading to a profit

when the reverse is the fact (HBCA, PAM, A.6/18/115).

These inadequacies and dissatisfaction with the new order led some officers to retire. Others were simply removed from the service.

> From the accounts from M.R. it is clear that much mismanagement has prevailed there and you will at once suspend Mr. John Thomas from his function as Chief Factor and take the necessary steps for his immediate departure from the Factory. He may either return to Europe or if he wishes to reside in Hudson Bay you may allot him a portion of land, being an old servant, on the East Winnipeg subject to the regulations made for settlers (HBCA, PAM, A.6/18/117).

Increasingly larger numbers of officers and labourers chose to retire to Red River in spite of the continued strife in the area. No doubt the long term employees prefered to retire in Rupert's land among their former co-workers and with their Country families, rather than to return to Europe after several decades absence. In return for promising not to engage in the fur trade, these men were given a land grant, the size of which varied with the rank of the individual (HBCA, PAM, A.6/19/70). Evidently the social hierarchy of the H.B.C. was being introduced and institutionalized in portions of the Red River Settlement. The prospect of retirement as a "gentleman" farmer, with his social position as a former H.B.C. officer intact, was a strong inducement for many men. Many labourers also chose to retire to the colony.

This encouragement to settle at Red River as farmers in the Selkirk Settlement was offered by the Company for mixed reasons. On the one hand, the London Committee expressed a preference for men leaving the service to be allowed to settle at the colony rather than it having to bear the cost of transporting them home (HBCA, PAM, A.6/18/270). A second rationale for encouraging Rupert's land retirement stemmed from the interests of Lord Selkirk in colonial resettlement, and his peculiar

relationship with the H.B.C.

> Lord Selkirk request that it be fully explained to all the Servants of the Hudson's Bay Company who are proposing to return home, that it is intended hereafter annually to bring out a few families to the Settlement on Red River; but that ship room cannot be afforded for all those who are desirous of going: and as a selection must be made, those will be accommodated in the first place whose relations have been earliest established at the Settlement. Any man therefore, who goes there immediately may obtain a preference in favor of his family and friends, who are desirous of coming out to join him, much earlier than he can look for that accomodation, if he returns to Europe with the view of going out again (HBCA, PAM, A.6/18/233).

The London Committee, despite the limited success of their labourer diversification schemes and the sectarian tension within their service, continued to clamour for the replacement of Orcadians with Scottish and Irish labourers. The strife arising from increased competition and violence also led the London Committee explicitly to condemn any attempt on the part of labourers to object to the orders of their superiors, even if they feared bodily injury (HBCA, PAM, A.6/18/175). Furthermore, the hierarchical divisions between the officers and labourers were to be made even more pronounced with further restrictions upon the social interaction between the ranks.

> We cannot reprobate too strongly the practise of the Officers purchasing provisions from the Men for the support of their families and we direct that you will not fail when any officer is detected in this or any other offence derogatory to their situation to suspend or order him home as the case may require. They should not unless in instances of necessity, join in the labour of the inferior servants; it lessens their dignity and loosens too much those bonds of discipline which rise from the respect felt for the superiority of the officer's station and rank (HBCA, PAM, A.6/18/98).

Clearly, the London Committee had determined that the most effective means of "reasserting" the authority of the officers, and restoring a proper sense of discipline among the men was by rigidly limiting social intercourse within the fort compound.

The influence of the British Industrial Revolution is also evident in other suggestions made by the London Committee to develop a more disciplined and managable work force. One of these new stategies was piece work.

> The suggestion which we have made above of employing men by the piece, in lieu of fixed yearly wages, ought to be adopted in every department of our business where it is practible... It should be part of any such agreement that the men are to pay for their own provisions, you stipulating to allow them a small piece of ground to cultivate for themselves, and also to furnish any articles of European provisions at our invoice prices... The men will thus have a strong motive for economy, as well as industry, and even tho the amount of their earnings by the piece should not exceed the present amount of their wages and cost of their maintenance, they will save much more money than they can at present, as they will feed themselves with the assistance of their gardens, at a much cheaper rate than we can. Others will be thereby tempted to apply for the same advantages, and this competition will enable you gradually to reduce the rates of payment to be allowed... (HBCA, PAM, A.6/18/194).

The London Committee was very careful to frame their discussion of piece work in a fashion to make the point that it was to be a small token payment for work completed beyond the daily allotment with the view of eventually cutting salaries (HBCA, PAM, A.6/18/191). This is clearly in contrast to former piece work schemes that sought to provide a gratuity for inland service, or for duties completed that were considered outside of the usual range of duties carried out by the labourers.

This attempt to introduce new techniques of labour management more suited to factory-oriented methods of production left the bayside officers less than enthusiastic (HBCA, PAM, A.6/18/252). The London Committee's attempts to directly compare an industrialized and monetarily oriented Great Britain with the Rupert's land fur trade also implies the ignorance with which the London Committee viewed their North American operation.

This sense of naivety combined with a growing move to bureaucratize

the H.B.C. service in order to better account for expenditures even led the London Committee to suggest that each tradesman should keep detailed daily records of their work activities.

> ...every mechanic <tradesmen> shall keep a memorandum book, in which he shall specify the mode in which he is daily employed, with any apprentices or journey men who may be under him; and also at the conclusion of any work, set down in a column ruled for the purpose, the money price, which he would be entitled to charge in his native country for the job done; specifying at the same time the quantity of materials consumed and also the extent of the work, according to any sort of measurement of which it is capable... in all the Journals some pages shall be set apart and properly ruled, for keeping an exact diary of the employment of the people. We send you a page ruled as an example and you will have no difficulty in perceiving the means; which it will afford you for calculating the real cost of any work, which has been performed and judging whether it be reasonable or extravagent (HBCA, PAM, A.6/18/197, 198).

This increased complexity of administrative structure was perceived to be necessary to check unnecessary expeditures and to assure orderly management. However, it also required the supervisory services of highly literate clerks and officers. This had the effect of introducing work criteria that long term labourers and junior officers with marginal educations could not meet. The implications of this development will be addressed later in this chapter.

Also of interest is the fact that by 1814, the Company's efforts to reduce the salary scales of the labourers was beginning to bear fruit as evidenced by the salary reduction of James Short from L 28 to L 20 (Figure 14). The situation of Short does not characterize the lot of all of the men. Apparently, the skills of men such as John Lyons, Thomas and Humphrey Favel and Francois Monjunier resulted in them being able to protect their salaries (Figure 9). These men were considered in the category of "Mechanics" and "Steersmen" whose salaries could range from L 20 to a maximum of L 30 (HBCA, PAM, A.6/18/58). It is also interesting

to note that several men earned a salary less than the base of L 20 for labourers. In all cases these underpaid men were either Country Born or Canadian, many of whom were working on at least their second contract (Tables 29 to 32, Figure 9). This situation forms a marked contrast to the pre 1810 period where Country Born (and Country Skilled) men seem to have been offered higher than average salaries, and enjoyed a relatively high social status in the small inland posts. The author suspects that the standardized L 20 starting salary for labourers was firmly entrenched in Great Britain, but not publicly acknowledged by the Bayside Officers. It is not expected that a perception of cheating was directly attached to this practise as Peter Fidler's son Charles was engaged at L 10 per year. The author is at a loss to understand why these Country Born men did not aggressively correct this imbalance by demanding equity with the European recruits. Perhaps the efforts to separate new recruits from the older labourers had the net effect of interrupting the effective information exchange in the men's quarters.

The Successful Implementation of the Retrenching System

The end of large scale European warfare in 1815 after the Battle of Waterloo may be perceived as an important turning point in the London Committee's efforts to "reform" the Hudson's Bay Company, and introduce new, "modern" management techniques and attitudes towards their commercial enterprise.

The 1815-16 trade season was also a time of dramatic developments not directly related to the European Wars, but which had profound effects upon the Winnipeg Factory. The most important of these pressures

were the deterioration conditions and escalating violence of the trade war. The most important of these events were the destruction of the Red River Settlement in the spring of 1815 (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/19/1, 1d), and the employment of a large force of French-Canadians under the direction of Colin Robertson to establish an H.B.C. presence in the Athabasca region (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/19/1, 10d). Of most immediate concern for the Brandon House labourers was the violence and air of intimidation, that characterized the relationship between the H.B.C. and the N.W.C.. Peter Fidler described this climate of tension in the context of events in the region under his direction.

> ...a short time since Mr. John Richards McKay who had gone up<strea> with several men to rebuild our houses at Riviere Qu' Appelle that the Canadians had recently burnt down after we left them in April. When he was beginning to build, MacDonell, the Canadian Master, there sent word over as we very naturally might suppose Mr. Fraser, a half breed with orders to our people to immediatly desist from building, but for them all to retire to Brandon House, or if they all did not leave the place in 24 hours, the Canadians would blow them to pieces. The Canadians immediately after this message delivered to us, began to cut out loops in their pickets and made every demonstration of doing as they had said if our people remained- however our men were determined to stand firm being urged to it by many Indians who luckily were at the houses at the time, saying they would support them to the last and would not allow the N.W.C. to drive us away- The Indians immediately sent away their women and children for safety- The N.W.Co. seeing the determination of the Indians to assist us, desisted from their intended purpose of driving away all our people from Qu' Appelle. Our having established the Athabascow Country on a large scale this summer, and well knowing that we should require a considerable quantity of Pemmican to carry it on, they wished to distress us in that particular- when Mr. Robertson heard this news which Mr. McKay sent express to him; just after he made Duncan Cameron and the others prisioners as before related, it was a part of the conditions of being liberated that on his promising to write immediately to McDonell at Qu' Appelle not to molest or annoy us for the future... (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/19/10d).

No doubt the Indians recognized the implications for themselves if one or the other company gained a monopoly, and took steps to ensure that the H.B.C. would not be forced out of the region. The increased level of

Native warfare at the time also likely contributed to disruptions in the trade and added to the tension (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/19/13, 15).

The North West Company also seems to have contributed to the unrest and disquiet by encouraging a growing sense of nationalism among people of mixed ancestory under their influence. This concern was likely rooted in a fear of the motivations that were thought to underlie the establishment of the Selkirk Settlement and the expansion of the H.B.C. interests into the Athabasca region. The capture of N.W.C. correspondence provided the H.B.C. with firm evidence of plans to threaten these operations. Peter Fidler cites several passages from this correspondence to illustrate

> the tendency of which cannot be but obvious, relating to the destruction of the colony... I have made many extracts in a collection taken out of the Canadian Packet "A storm is gathering to the Northwards ready to burst on the heads of the Rascals". "The New Nation is coming forwards to clear their native soil of Intruders and assassins" - "Never has we such a set of villians to deal with..." - "William Shaw is collecting all the half breeds in the surrounding Department" - "What took place last year will be but a joke to it"... (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/19/31).

Another illustration of the rising nationalism of the "Bois Brules" and their plans is apparent in a captured letter from Cuthbert Grant to John Dougald Cameron.

> I am as yet safe and sound thank God, for I believe its more than Robertson or any of his suit dare to offer the least insult to any of the Bois Brules; altho Robertson made use of some expressions, which I hope he shall swallow in the spring- He shall see that it is neither 15, Thirty nor 50 of his best horsemen that can make the Bois Brules bow down to him. The half breeds of Fort Dauphin, Des Prairies, and English River are all to be here in the spring it is hoped we shall come off with flying colours and never see any of them again in the colonying was in Red River, in fact the Traders <H.B.C.> shall pack off with themselves also, for having disregarded our orders last spring; according to our arrangements, we are to remain at the Forks and pass the summer for fear they should play us the same trick as last summer of coming back, but they shall receive a warm reception... <signed> Cuthbert Grant My sister and Betsy return their most respectful compliments to you (HBCA, PAM,

B.22/a/19/23, 23d).

Despite the threatening overtones of Grant's letter, it is interesting to note that Betsy was Grant's Country wife, a Country Born daughter of John McKay, and the sister of John Richards McKay (an officer of the H.B.C.). Obviously, the violence and tension of the era must have put much strain upon such personal relationships. However, it is of interest to note that the cordial relationship between J.R. McKay and C. Grant survived the violence of the trade war, and the disappearance of Betsy McKay Grant (McLeod and Morton 1974). The issue of conflicting personal obligations and corporate loyalties will be discussed again below.

The growing unrest came to a climax in the spring of 1816 with the capture of the Qui Appelle River boat brigade, the capture and pillaging of Brandon House and Riviere Qui Appelle, the Battle of Seven Oaks, and the destruction of the Selkirk Settlement. Of immediate interest for this discussion is the effect upon the labourers at Brandon House of the unrest and uncertainty of the winter of 1815-16. While many of Fidler's problems with the labourers do not directly relate to the trade war, they may well be a function of the retrenchment policy. That is, the reforms made to the inland service led to conflicts with officers who attempted to implement them. One complaint that Peter Fidler made of his men was his dissatisfaction with their work efficiency. For example, he noted that a man named James Kirkness, was reprimanded for only working "exactly one hour and 50 minutes" before he quit work for the day (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/19/18d). A second cause of complaint appears more related to new labourers' experience and perception of work. This is evident from Richard Cunningham's and John Flett's refusal to handle more than one

dog team each, a feat which Fidler considered to be routine for Country Skilled men such as his sons (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/19/14, 14d).

Many of the complaints regarding the actions of the men reflect Fidler's sensitivity to the new directives towards more "effective" use of the men's labour. This is particularly evident in Fidler's complaints of John Richards McKay's treatment of his men at Riviere Qui Appelle.

> Feb 25, 1816 Sun: At 4 am sent away George Setter with goods to Riviere Qu'Appelle, he has four excellant dogs and would only take 204 lb he refused to take a bag of Ball of 56 lb which he very easily could have taken and it is required above Indeed all of the men that comes from Qu'Appelle appears to be very much their own master, they have been so very much indulged by Mr. McKay who has spoilt them, and any other person who wishes to bring matters round as they ought is hated by them, but this I don't mind as I am determined every man that is here shall do his duty, come from what house he will (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/19/19, 19d).

Fidler, faced with these problems of discipline, commented upon fining as a form of punishment and made some generalizations concerning its effectiveness.

> Letters came down from Riviere Qu'Appelle to send to Jack River for some goods: appointed Richard Cunninghan and John Favil, the latter very much objected going the journey, but I was obliged to threaten him before he would consent. These half breeds <John Favil> in general are very careless and don't mind fining them part of their wages, personal chastisement is the only thing with these kind of people, but the men from old Country it has a great effect on, and was the best step the Co., introduced here in or about 1793 at which time almost every man did as he chose particularly if he was a steers Man or Bowsman of a Canoe, no other craft was then used... (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/19/19d).

The effect of the loss of patronage links, and/or the new attitude towards labourer effectiveness had a dramatic effect upon perceptions towards labourers and their importance. This change is readily apparent in Fidler's attitude towards Thomas Favel. John McKay, the former Master at Brandon House, had spoken in glowing terms of both Humphrey and Thomas Favel. These men, who were also his brothers in law, were

characterized as being extremely valuable Country Skilled labourers, hunters, boatmen, guides, traders and interpreters (Tables 18, 20, 22, 23). The continued importance of these two men is evident with Humphrey Favel being employed as Colin Robertson's guide through the Winnipeg River system (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/19/1d), and Thomas Favel's continued employment as a work party leader, trader, traveller and probably an interpreter (Table 27). However, Peter Fidler seems to have grown increasingly disenchanted with Thomas Favel as the following quotations suggest.

> Mar 30, 1816: Sent 8 Men to the Charcoal kiln and expected it would have been ready to set fire to this day, but find that it is not half covered, went to see it myself about 1 1/2 mile off and spoke very sharply to Tom Favil and others when I returned about the slowness of the work and the coals are so much wanted- I should have expected 3 men to have done what they have all done in the same time, but many of the men don't consider anything but living well and doing little ... (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/19/24d).
>
> April 10, 1816: Thomas Favil badly these 4 days, indeed this is too generally the case with this man, when any particular thing is to be done (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/19/27).
>
> May 16, 1816: ...John Lyons still badly and T. Favel according to custom doing very little - he does not earn his and Family's exclusive of his wages... (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/19/32).

Fidler's continued dissatisfaction with Favel culminated in the latter's refusal to accept the dangerous task of carrying dispatches to the Forks through a N.W.C. blockade (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/19/31). As a consequence, he released Favel from the service and recorded the following comment in his journal.

> June 14, 1816: gave Tom Favil a half breed a very indifferent working hand his liberty to be free according to Mr. Sutherland's order as he would not work on the Passage down, made a parchment canoe to go down to the Forks to be there by the time the Batteaux reach there as nothing can be settled till then (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/19/39).

The contrast between early references to the skills of the Favel

brothers in the pre 1810 period, and to those recorded in Fidler's journal are difficult to reconcile. Perhaps these men were excessively praised, and subsequently "spoiled" on the basis of their links with John McKay. Another possibility is that after 23 years of service, Thomas Favel simply lost interest in employment with the Company and, indeed, grew to be not worth the keep of himself and his family. Perhaps a more realistic explanation of Favel's "inadequacies" is implied by a rather caustic comment made by Peter Fidler on June 15, 1816.

> ...Told Pisk <"Peask" Thomas Kipling> and <John> Lyons to hew cart wood but neither would do it. since the N.W.C. half breeds have been liberaly promised great payment and no work done by them, ours above <?> imagine they have no right to work and are become very saucy on that account... (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/19/39)

To understand the full meaning implicit in Fidler's comment, one must appreciate the cloud of intimidation that settled over all H.B.C. servants in the area as a result of the threatened mobilization of the "Bois Brule" under the leadership of Cuthbert Grant, Bostonais Pangman and Angus Shaw. Throughout the winter of 1815-16 continued rumors swept the West Winnipeg District of planned violence in the spring. The North West Company also appears to have been recruiting all available "half breeds" for no apparent purpose (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/19/25). Presumably, these men were being recruited as part of the violent campaign to outmaneuver the H.B.C.. Furthermore, Fidler also alleged that the North West Company was going to great lengths to intimidate freemen into not having any contact with the H.B.C.

> Took our coal kiln down as it was badly built and employed Hamlin a Freeman to put our Men in the right way, he is afraid to lay his hand to it for fear of the N.W.Co. as all the Freemen are in great terror of them... (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/19/25).

It can be suggested that many H.B.C. labourers were being pressured by acquaintances in the employ of the N.W.C. These men, specifically the

Country Born and Canadian ones, were probably warned not to intervene in the impending confrontation.

The ease of capture of the Hudson's Bay Company's establishments by Cuthbert Grant and his men (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/19/30, 31d, 36-38d), probably was very intimidating to the H.B.C. men. The effectiveness of this intimidation is readily apparent as 22 of 25 labourers agreed to sign a "non aggression pact" after their capture while travelling to Brandon House in the H.B.C. boat brigade (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/19/33). It is interesting to note that not all of these men followed through with their promise not to act against the N.W.C.. Of the eight employees of the H.B.C. known to have been killed at Seven Oaks, three had signed this pact (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/19/33, 33d; B.63/f/1). Of these men killed, all were relatively recent arrivals and most were either Scots or Irish (HBCA, PAM, B.63/f/1).

By way of contrast, few of the senior labourers, particularly Country Born or Canadian ones, were prepared to risk their lives for the H.B.C.. Furthermore, the more senior labourers would have had to consider their Country families prior to getting involved in violent confrontations. No doubt this goes far to explain the reluctance of some men to carry out orders that they considered to be excessively dangerous. This situation was described by Peter Fidler who attempted to dispatch men to the settlement to inform Governor Semple of the capture of the Riviere Qui Appelle men.

> May 13, 1816: ... that the Governor in Chief should have the news of the disasters from Riviere Qu' Appelle as quick as possible: last night I appointed John Lyons to carry it on horseback and to start before daylight; but he was taken very ill in the night and not fit to go t' Journey- I then appointed Thomas Favel who peremptoraly <sic> said he would not; so then the only person we had here was Charles Fidler, ... and he and Pisk <Kipling> was put across the river. but the Canadians surrounded them both and

> took from them their guns and ammunition by main force and drove them back again (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/19/31).

While Lyon's convenient illness may well have been legitimate, the caution of both he and Favel was well founded. When Brandon House was eventually captured and pillaged by Cuthbert Grant and his men, Peter Fidler described the treatment received by various H.B.C. employees.

> They also plundered every person in the house of part of their private property and took away every horse belonging to the Company and European Servants, thou horses that John Lyons, T. Favill half breed had they let alone. There were only 3 European Servants here which could make no effectual resistence and our half breeds would not lift a gun, since last spring when at the Forks, the N. W. in the name of their half breeds wrote them a letter saying that if they lifted arms against them, they would massacre the whole of them... <They> searched Private room and bed place in the house and James Inkster has lost private property to above L 40 sterling value in England and all the others considerable - myself was the next sufferer to a large amount... during the time they were plundering the houses some of the N W Party forced over to their house Thomas Fidler and Papin the smith, the latter they shut up alone in their Ice house and tyed his hands to make him tell where we had hidden our ammunition, tobacco etc... Thomas Fidler they knocked about in McDonnell's room and in his presence and told him that if he did not inform where the above things were hidden they would murder him, at last he was obliged to tell them to save his life... James Inkster was also very badly used by them, till he was at last <forced> to tell them where the things were hidden to save his life- They also used me very ill and threatened to tye me to the gates and keep me there two days if I would not tell, but they could not induce me to inform... They forced Thomas Fidler over to the N W House and made him sign a paper not to bear arms against the N.W.C... (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/19/36-38).

It is evident from this passage that resistance was met with violent reactions, and that men who chose to remain passive were not misstreated or did not lose all of their posessions.

While the part that men such as Lyons and Favel played is hardly a heroic one, their decision not to intervene clearly was a wise one. It must be kept in mind that these two men and others like them had few options beyond employment with the H.B.C. in Rupert's land, or retirement to a precarious existence as freemen. Furthermore, they may

well have felt some sympathy for the aspirations of the "New Nation" and would wish to avoid taking direct action against friends, associates and kinsmen in the N.W.C. camp. On the other hand, Country Born men such as Thomas Fidler may well have felt a stronger sense of obligation to the H.B.C. through his father's position, and since he was also an officer of the Honourable Company. The actions of Charles Fidler are conspicuous by the fact that his father did not describe them. Perhaps his treatment after his capture while carrying letters to Red River led him to determine that discretion was the better part of valour, and he followed the example of Lyons and Favel.

The references in Fidler's journal that consistently imply a distrust of "half Breed" employees, and their prominant role under Cuthbert Grant's leadership in the violence of the trade war, seem to mark the beginning of explicit racial prejudice. This unease over the prominence of non-Europeans in events in Red River may well have contributed to the London Committee redoubling their efforts to firmly establish the Selkirk Settlement.

> we agree with you in thinking that the attack, which has been made upon it shews most forcibly the necessity of having a respectible white population established in the country... we think it will be extremely desirable to have all the effective men of the Settlement enrolled as a volunteer corps... we wish the servants of the Company in the neighborhood of the Settlement to be trained to the use of arms, that they may be brought up to its assistance if necessary (HBCA, PAM, A.6/18/329).

> We have already informed you that it is our wish and intention to encourage the settlement of a respectible white population within our territories we shall therefore give all reasonable assistance to the Officers and Servants leaving the service, who may be inclined to settle on the Red River, and when a survey of their grant is made, a written title will be given to them. They may receive from the nearest Trading post necessaries at the Company's prices, or they will be allowed to get them from this country at a moderate freight not exceeding what may be current at the time to Quebec (HBCA, PAM, A.6/18/337).

The repetition of the phrase "a respectible White population" is considered to reflect a wish to establish a reliable, stable, trustworthy and manageable population at Red River. In the eyes of the London Committee and the Bayside Officers, the strife and conflict of the period was largely carried out by "half Breeds" or "Bois Brule", men with strong connections with the N.W.C. These men were perceived to epitomize the wild, uncontrollable and dangerous character of the frontier which a "respectible White population" at the Selkirk Settlement was designed to counteract.

The London Committee also appears to have had second thoughts regarding its agreement to offer its employees 1/5 off the invoice price for goods even though they acknowledged that revoking it might "be considered a grievance" (HBCA, PAM, A.6/18/332). It would appear from the context of this proposal that the London Committee suggested revoking the 1/5 reduction as a means of reducing private trade between its servants and the freemen and labourers of the N.W.C. (HBCA, PAM, B.42/b/54/5). As a consequence of these alleged activities, the company sought to raise the price of goods, and search their employees' parcels from Britain (HBCA, PAM, A.6/18/331, 332).

The recruitment of Canadian employees from Montreal also created new tensions in the inland based upon competition within the service and jealousies over variable wage scales.

> With regard to the salaries of the principal gentlemen engaged in Canada, it ought to be recollected that they are rather a sort of guaranteed profit, than fixed salaries, and when these gentlemen have been their three years in the country, and have an opportunity of judging of the trade, they will conform to the regulations of the service, of looking to the shares of the trade as their principal emolument. The steersmen, guides, and common boatmen have higher wages than our European servants, but then they pay much higher prices for all they purchase and will probability from that circumstance, and their habits of

> extravagance have less money coming to them. Having two different descriptions of servants is not desirable, but it appeared that a trade could not be established in Aathapascow without Canadians, and they would only engage on the terms which they were accustomed to and understood (HBCA, PAM, A.6/18/332, 333).

The final defeat of Napoleonic France at the Battle of Waterloo marked the end of a long period of warfare in Europe. This peace released large numbers of men from the military service and created something of a labour glut. The H.B.C. were quick to capitalize upon this situation.

> We have sent by the ships the full number of men... The men sent out this year are at the old wages of L 20, but the contracts of all the new hands are for 5 years in place of 3 as formerly. The reduction of wages in this country is so considerable in consequence of the peace, that we can without difficulty next year send you any number of men that you may require, and we have no doubt at less wages than we now pay, but we wish to give a preference to the men now in Hudson's Bay who have had some experience in the trade. It ought also to be recollected, that there is a considerable expence in feeding <with ship's provisions> the men out and home, which makes it more desirable to retain those now in the Bay than to send fresh hands from this country (HBCA, PAM, A.6/18/340, 341).

These passages also indicate the more "business-like" attitudes that the London Committee were developing towards their employees that form a marked contrast to the more "paternalistic" approach of the pre 1810 period.

The London Committee also seems to have begun to further formalize new attitudes towards their employees that reflect the wish to establish a "reliable" and "respectible White population". This attitude also seems to be closely linked to the continued difficulties of implementing the retrenching policy, breaking the power of the labourers, and generating a profit in face of intensive competition from the N.W.C. The responsibility of failing to achieve these objectives was laid at the feet of the officers, specifically long term officers whose experience

dated before the 1810 retrenchment. Two such senior officers who were blamed for difficulties in their jurisdictions were William Sinclair of the West Winnipeg District (HBCA, PAM, A.6/18/339) and Thomas Vincent of the Southern Department (HBCA, PAM, A.6/18/26d, 27, 32d-34d). This new attitude was initially vocalized by a stated intention to "send out a few young men from the Highlands of respectible connexions as clerks" (HBCA, PAM, A.6/19/39d). These educated young men were perceived to be the eventual replacements for these supposed inadequate officers after a relatively short training period (HBCA, PAM, A.6/18/26d, 27). One gets the impression that this move to install a new, young and educated officer group was more than an attack upon the old style of officers, and an attempt to institute the new management practises. One such underlying attitude seems to be related to a growing distrust of the Country Born and long term European servants with Rupert's land connections. This is likely a byproduct of the involvement of "half Breed" people in the continued conflict in Red River, and the assertions implied in journals such as Peter Fidler's that suggested that Country Born employees could not be relied upon. This attitude was closely connected to a growing attitude on the part of the London Committee that the Country Born were foreign, non-English and unreliable. British born officers and labourers, on the other hand, were perceived to be external to the social fabric of Rupert's land, and therefore not subject to conflicting obligations. As a consequence, they would be more reliable and loyal to the Hudson's Bay Company.

The 1817-18 trade season, represented in Table 29, indicates a number of profound changes in the structure of the H.B.C. work force. The origins of many of the junior labourers reflects the diversified

sources sought by the company (Table 29), however the the all-important senior labourer category was still dominated by Orcadian and Country Born men. It is also important to note that many of the senior labourers who had been long associated with Brandon House had left the service. However, Peter Fidler found it necessary to hire a number of such freemen on a short term basis. They were needed to carry out the Country Skilled jobs which the newly contracted labourers were not capable of fulfilling. Fidler also provides a brief explanation why these men were no longer in the service.

> Aug 12, 1817 Our Freemen, Lyons, 2 Favils and Magnus Spence pitched their Tents within our stockades and gave each 2 feet tobacco and a dram each and 1 qt spirits amongst them, they are also pleased at our return. Lyons was made free beginning of last August as he refused to accompany James Inkster the Master then there, to the Elbow house when our people were then all turned out of our house by Grant by the orders of McLeod the N.W. agent. Humphrey Favil has been for some time on account of bad behavior to Mr. John McLeod at Red River 2 years ago- Tom Favil got his liberty from me as he refused to go down of Jack River when desired, and Mr. Sutherland told me, he could not think of keeping any person to be his own Master or only do what he choosed- Magnus Spence in the Service since 1783 became free 2 years ago... (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/20/10d).

The tactic of refusing to carry out work, and threats of work stoppage had clearly lost their effect in the post retrenchment H.B.C., particularly in a climate of a labour glut. However, the shortage of skilled and experienced labourers at Brandon House provided these freemen a relatively good situation.

This short term employment also indicates the economic niches such freemen could develop in future. Some of these duties are listed below.

1) Cart freighters who transported goods in their own carts from one post to another for a stated fee per bundle or piece (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/20/13, 14, 17, 17d, 18).

2) Short term boatsteerers and guides who supervized the efforts of men who were not familiar with the water routes (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/20/42, B.22/a/21/2d, 3d).

3) Hunters who undertook to kill a specified number of bison at a stated price per kill (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/20/21, 22, 30d, 34d, 37, 37d).

4) Workmen who were hired on a short term or casual basis to undertake a number of duties in times of a shortage of contracted employees (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/20/16, 16d, 17, 19).

5) Skilled tradesmen who were hired on a piece work basis to construct specific items at a stated price per item (ie boats, carts, etc) (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/20/17d, 34).

6) Independent hunters and trappers who were credited by the H.B.C. and who spent the season trapping furs to be sold to the creditor in the spring (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/20/18d, 21d, 22).

While the freedom of such a life may well have appealed to some of these men, it could also be a rather precarious existence without the support and security offered by formal employment in the large fur trade companies. The lot of freemen hunters and trappers was particularly precarious as Peter Fidler pointed out with reference to the Favel brothers.

> The 2 Favils are hunting Beaver near there <the Dauphin Mountains>, but I am afraid that they will kill very few as they are both so very indolent... (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/20/19d).

> Humphrey Favil came here with only 4 Beaver Skins killed by himself and Brother all fall he also brought a gun to repair and wants hatchets, Ice chisels and Tobacco (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/20/21d).

> Humphrey and Tom Favil starving and gone Southwards in search of the Buffalo (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/20/22).

Evidently the precarious nature of the beaver hunt in a forest environment was a very difficult life as food was rather scarce. These two men chose to remain on the prairie the following year, probably hunting bison in the Qui Appelle River region (HBCA, PAM, B.22/e/1/10). Even John Lyons faced great difficulties as a freemen in spite of the fact that he appears to have been a more vigorous hunter, was offered more secondary employment, and had a large credit account with the

Company upon which he could fall back (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/20/18d, 32d).

Service in the H.B.C. certainly continued to appeal to many of the Country Skilled employees as evidenced by John "Ram" Kipling's efforts to reengage (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/20/18), and the continued employment of such men as "Peask" Thomas Kipling, John Easter, John Favel, James Short, James Inkster and James Anderson (Table 28).

The loss of so many Country Skilled men from the H.B.C. service seems to have enhanced the position of some men who remained in the service. For example, "Peask" Thomas Kipling became a very important labourer at both Brandon House and Manitoba House (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/20/11). John Easter, the long term employee who spent most of his life in the H.B.C. service at consistently low salaries, also appears to have fared rather well by remaining in the service. No doubt his receipt of a salary in keeping with his value to the company was due to his faithful service as well as his Country Skills as the Lists of Servants and Servant's Resolves indicate (Figure 10).

> 1806: This person has never left your honour's service but has still continued in it at his former wages. He is a Boat Steerer and good hunter (HBCA, PAM, B.3/f/4/1d).
>
> 1815-16: an escellant mechanik <sic>, a good Hunter and good servant (HBCA, PAM, B.63/f/1/1d, 2).

Easter's life-long association with the H.B.C., his conspicuous failure to use aggressive wage renegotiation tactics, and the fact that he seldom created problems for his superiors would make him an extremely valuable servant. Such a stable and reliable worker would be well worth his salary.

A number of freemen formerly in the employ of the H.B.C. were also beginning to consider settlment as farmers near the Selkirk Settlement. The three founding families of one such settlement consisted of those of

Magnus and John Spence, William Corrigal and John Flett (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/20/17d, 19). All four of these men were former H.B.C. servants who served at Brandon House. This small settlement was to be located not at the Forks, but rather, a short distance up the Assiniboine River were they could expect protection from the colony (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/20/34d). However it would also be far enough to the westward to be "nearer to the Buffalo grounds in Winter when the fish are scarser" (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/21/32d). This village was named Birsay in honour of Magnus Spence's home parish in the Orkney Islands and it was located on the north bank of the river 3 miles above the White Horse Plains and 22 miles from Fort Douglas (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/21/32, 32d). These men appear to have chosen to avoid the life of the freemen, and take advantage of the Hudson's Bay Company's offer of free land to retired employees. In fact, lots were surveyed for them in the spring of 1819 (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/21/32d). The care apparent in the selection of a suitable location, and with the preparation of their village indicates the breadth of knowledge, the forethought that these men possessed, and their value as settlers.

> June 7, 1818: At 5 pm reach Birsay where Magnus Spence and several others have settled at this spring. They have got about 4 Bushels of wheat, half as much Barley and some potatoes in the Ground and are now hawling wood to make their dwelling houses, they mean to build 5 houses for as many families within a Picket enclosure to keep their horses from being stolen... (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/21/3d).

The development of settlements such as Red River and Birsay represents a seventh option on which retiring H.B.C. and N.W.C. servants and other freemen could choose to capitalize. All of these options would have become increasingly attractive to the labourers as more constraints were placed in the way of long term ambitions within the service. Such a

development is evident with the following quotation from a General Letter.

> We have engaged... Clerks... who have been well educated and understand French and Mr. McDonald of Inverness has engaged 3 young men of respectible connexions in that part of the Country and may probably engage a fourth. Mr. McKenzie of Stornaway may probably engage 2 or 3 from that quarter... We think much benefit will be derived from employing respectible clerks at the outposts who may be depended upon for ability and care of the goods in place of trusting so much to the old hands among the common men and a succession of experienced traders will thus be formed in a few years... (HBCA, PAM, A.6/19/49d).

The impression that most employees within the service were being faced with more limited prospects and fewer opportunities for advancement became more evident with the 1818-19 Official Correspondence from London.

> we would wish every reasonable encouragement to be given to the old servants whose contracts have expired and who may be found to be useful, but as a choice of men can be obtained in this country at L 15 wages for 5 years, we do not think more than L 20 ought to be given to old hands (unless under very particular circumstances of merit) except Steersmen and Tradesmen. and we think renewals of contracts ought to be made if possible for 5 years and the new form of contracts are to be used in all cases in future (HBCA, PAM, A.6/19/48d).

> There are considerable disadvantages in having 2 descriptions of Men as servants, and we wish to endeavor to get as many of the young clerks as possible made acquainted with the Athabasca Country and trade with the view of making it more easy to substitute European in place of the Canadian Servants... by occupying first one District and then another with European Servants, as you get plenty of Clerks qualified... but it will not do to mix the men at the same post. While the Canadian servants are employed at such high salaries it is absolutely necessary that proper opportunity should be afforded them to supply themselves with all the luxuries, as well as necessaries which they may wish for. This may be done by having proper shops opened at the Depot at which the expedition is fitted out where they may buy what they want (HBCA, PAM, A.6/19/68).

> It appears to us that a very useful class of Servants might be raised from among the half breed sons of our European Labourers. They might be apprenticed at 15 or 16 years of age or even at 14 if found to answer for a term of 7 or 10 years according to their age and at wages to the extent of 5/ or 6/ <5 or 6 shillings?> sufficient to cloth them. Some might be brought up as Tradesmen,

> others as Canoemen, and they might be usefully employed in occassionally hunting furs and well as provisions and if properly treated, would form a body of valuable attached servants. We think a very considerable number might be taken into the Service with advantage and we should be glad to be informed what number you think could be procured (HBCA, PAM, A.6/19/70, 70d).

These passages illustrate the "business-like" approach to labourer management which, at the same time, also indicates a certain naivety on the part of the London Committee. That is, it was overlooked that Country Born men (often very young men) had been extremely important and well paid members of the Rupert's land work force for some time. Of even more profound significance was a further articulation of policies and attitudes that attacked the Bay Tradition. In conjunction with the wish to "parachute" educated young "gentlemen" clerks into the Rupert's land officer class after a short training period, it would appear that the labourers, (specifically Country Born labourers) were expected to occupy only the middle and lower niches of the work related hierarchy. They were expected to aspire to rise to positions as tradesmen, Country Skilled labourers, boatmen and hunters, but not to positions as clerks, traders and Inland Masters. This move to implement "ceilings" upon the aspirations of the labourers was also extended to include Canadian and European labourers. No doubt a few literate Country Born and European servants did continue to become outpost and summer masters, but it can be legitimately suggested that many fewer such men made the transition. The author expects that this attitude towards the Country Born labourers was part of a general attitude towards Native and mixed ancestory people in Rupert's land that J.S. Brown (1980) and S. Van Kirk (1980) have described as characteristic of the latter half of the 19th century.

Perhaps another indication of the growing sense of dissatisfaction with the service can be seen in the actions of Charles and Thomas

Fidler, two sons of Peter Fidler. These two young men had served under their father's direction for at least seven years through a period of great difficulty and danger. This danger was by no means imagined, as the previous discussion indicates that both men had suffered personal injury on behalf of their employer at the hands of the N.W.C.. Furthermore, both were relatively well educated by their father. They also appear to have been seasoned traders, travellers and boatsteerers (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/19, 20, 21) and had acted as outpost masters and clerks (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/20/18d) (Table 27). In fact their father appears to have gone to great lengths to provide them with a great diversity of skills as noted in 1816: "...<the> Cooper, Thomas and Charles Fidler keg making as I wish my sons to learn everything that is useful" (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/19/17d). Clearly, Peter Fidler was grooming his sons into well-rounded men who would be much sought after by the H.B.C. in the context of the Bay Tradition. With this diversity of skills, and with diligence and hard work, they could be expected to rise high in the service of the company just as their father had done (Mac Gregor 1966). However, the 1818-19 season saw both of these young men in serious conflict with their supervisors, and they both appear to have left the service for a time.

The winter of 1818-19 saw Charles Fidler spending a great deal of his time working with James Inkster, the cooper. However, on April 12, 1819 Peter Fidler cryptically reported that James Inkster and Charles Fidler "disputed much" over an unmentioned subject. Peter Fidler sent his son to deliver some horses to the colony "and to be out of the way" (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/21/49d). This discrete handling of this issue proved unsuccessful as

> Charles Fidler instead of going down to the Forks with 2 Horses for the Governor and Mr. Sutherland in company with the Colony men - went away to the Indian Tent and James Inkster's woman left her Husband and followed him (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/21/49d).

No doubt the personal relationship between Inkster's Country Wife and Charles Fidler was the cause of the dispute between the two men, and goes far to explain Peter Fidler's attempts to defuse the situation. After at least one attempt to persuade Inkster's wife to return to her husband (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/20/50d), she was returned to the Post by the Indian to whose tent she and Fidler fled (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/20/52). Fidler did not write what his son did after this development. This incident might appear to be a personal conflict of no immediate consequence to Charles Fidler's long-term career aspirations. However, he was fined the entire credit balance in his account with the company for "threatening to shoot his father and William <James> Inkster" (HBCA, PAM, A.16/26/131/67). He had run away with the wife of a co-worker, disobeyed the orders of his superior (his father), and threatened physical violence. These reckless acts form a marked contrast to the view of his character noted by James Sutherland and Duncan Finlayson in 1816 as a "Sober, Honest and industrious" man (HBCA, PAM, B.63/f/1/2d-3). Perhaps the sense of unrest and alienation that many labourers felt with the post-retrenchment H.B.C. led Charles Fidler to disregard the consequences of his actions.

The situation of Thomas Fidler, while not as dramatic as that of his brother, is also noteworthy. He served as a junior officer attached to Manitoba House under the direction of William Brown (HBCA, PAM, B.122/a/2). Despite the relative prestige of Fidler, he seems to have been employed with duties usually assigned to labourers (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/2/4d, 5). Furthermore, the relationship between Brown and Fidler

seems to have been somewhat strained. This is particularly evident when Thomas Fidler attempted to guide Brown to Halkett's House, and the party became lost. Brown ascribed this failure to "stupidity" on Fidler's part (HBCA, PAM, B.122/a/2/6, 6d). No doubt Brown would have informed Fidler of his alleged shortcomings. In any case, a week later Brown sent Fidler to an Indian's Tent to do some trading. Fidler refused to go and Brown dismissed him from the Service, whereupon Fidler packed up his belongings and returned to Brandon House where his father was Master (HBCA, PAM, B.122/a/2/6, 6d). Peter Fidler made no mention of his son's dismissal in the Brandon House journal, no doubt to protect his son's reputation as much as possible. It can also be expected that Peter Fidler used his influence to try and get his son to return to Manitoba House in an attempt to regain his employment. Within two weeks of dismissing him, William Brown reported that Thomas Fidler approached him wishing to be reengaged (HBCA, PAM, B.122/a/2/7d). He was reengaged, but not without being warned that his wages were dependent upon his good behavior.

Both of these young men indulged in rather reckless behavior which would have seriously damaged their credibility with the company. Throughout their early careers they appear to have identified with the company service, both through their individual aspirations, and also personally through their upbringing under the influence of their father. This attachment to the service seems to have led them to support the company (and their father), at no small personal risk through the conflicts of 1815, 1816 and 1817, in spite of the example of men such as John Lyons and Thomas Favel. However, by the spring of 1819 both of these individuals had become embroiled in conflicts with their superiors

that clearly threatened their future in the Company. While the issues were of extreme importance to them at the time, the cooling of tempers (and passion) led both of them to return to the service, no doubt under pressure from their father. Despite this return to the service, the events serve to add weight to the suggestion that many of the company's servants were growing increasingly restless with their new position in the post-retrenchment Hudson's Bay Company. Conversely, the actions of two such well connected and promising young Country Born men would also have served to add weight in the senior officer's eyes of the need for reliable and respectable European clerks and officers.

Despite the imposition of informal "ceilings" upon the aspirations of the labourers, one exception was the rise of George Setter from a labourer to a position as a "junior" officer. His rise within the service was described in Governor George Simpson's 1832 Servant's Character book.

> An Orkney man about 50 years of age and upwards of 25 years in the Service, came to the Country as a common labourer was one of the most active attached and faithful servants belonging to the Company, and by his great address, indefatigable labours and exertions and determined hostility to the North West Company in the Days of opposition distinguished himself in an eminent degree... still very useful as an assistant at a large establishment or in charge of a smaller Post and allowed a salary of L 50 ann with which he is perfectly satisfied. His hieroglyphics are only legible to those accustomed to them... (HBCA, PAM, A.34/2/235).

While Setter had served long and faithfully within the H.B.C. for over 25 years, Simpson still found it useful to mention his humble beginnings. It can be suggested that the passage implies just what an exception from the rule the rise of Setter was in the context of the 1820's and 1830's. This is particularly the case with the rather unkind comment concerning the level of his literacy.

A final point of interest is that, despite the large numbers of Scots and Irish labourers, and the increased pressure brought to bear upon Country Born labourers, four of the five best paid labourers in 1819 were Country Born or Native (Table 31). Of particular note is the case of John Easter who received a salary of L 30. This is quite surprising given the institutionalized salary scales and this man's history of being underpaid (Figures 9 and 10). Perhaps this development might be considered as an element of a move to rationalize salary scales. There is no evidence to suggest that Easter modified his attitude towards employment in the H.B.C. service, nor did he change his markedly non-aggressive attitude towards wage renegotiation. Throughout his career he had quietly and efficiently carrying out his duties, and never played a conspicuous part in confrontational situations with the officers. Perhaps the combination of his non-aggressive attitude, consistent loyalty to the service and wide ranging Country Skills resulted in the unsought movement of his salary upward to that which was reserved for the most skilled of the labourers. The author must acknowledge that the case of John Easter is highly singular, and unidentified variables, his ethnic origin and childhood background in the H.B.C. might have provided for influences that are beyond the scope of this study.

The 1820-21 season marks the end of the era of competition with the amalgamation of the North West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company. While it might be argued that the end of competition (and the associated violence) would stand in the employees' favor, the opposite proved to be the case. That is, the amalgamation sparked a major reorganization and

rationalization of the fur trade under the direction of Governor Simpson. Simpson attacked the problems of the fur trade with a vigour and ruthlessness that probably shocked the men employed in the trade. The primary element of the reorganization of the company was to eliminate all duplication of effort and to dispose of all unnecessary employees. While Simpson is generally perceived to be the author of this reorganization, the 1821 General Letter would suggest that he was really the zealous agent of an efficiency conscious London Committee who wrote that:

> No men that are not efficient, valuable servants ought to be hired, and none of those who are only useful during an opposition... unless you hear that the proposed arrangements is broken off we do not wish any Canadian men to be reengaged for more than 1 year as their must be more men in the Country than can be usefully employed hereafter. You will of course retain those men who may be in debt to the Company that they may be made to work out their debts (HBCA, PAM, A.6/19/109d, 110).

This labour glut affected both officers and men. Inadequate men or individuals who did not meet the specific needs of the new "modern" enterprise were to be weeded out. Simpson's Character Book again offers a view of the orientation of the new H.B.C. in its assessment of John Richards McKay in 1822 and 1823.

> 1822: Sober and honest, a tolerable Clerk and Trader, very active but supposed to be extravagant with Indians, will be discharged next season if he does not improve in the meantime...
>
> 1823: Active, tolerable Clerk and good trader extravagant in days of opposition but gave satisfaction last year... (HBCA, PAM, A.34/1/35)

While McKay appears to have survived the 1821 labour glut, the majority of men employed in the Upper Red River region in 1819-20 and 1820-21 did not fare so well (Table 31 and 32). In fact, only 16% of the men listed in Table 32 continued in the employ of the Company after 1821, and only three of these men remained after 1822. While the author

does not know whether these released servants returned to Europe or not, it is likely that most of the Canadians, Country Born and high seniority men retired to the Selkirk Settlement to take up some of the new opportunities that appeared to become available there. It should also be pointed out that some of these men returned to the service on a short term basis after the company completed its reorganization of the trade system.

As the reader will note, the above chapter has introduced and discussed a number of issues and historical variables that directly affected the employee's aspirations within the H.B.C.. While these issues centred around the question of upward mobility, the issue of social change in Rupert's land formed an important element of the discussion. The concluding chapter will summarize and integrate some of these elements of change with the perspective of the economizing strategies of the employees of the Hudson's Bay Company

Chapter 8

CONCLUSION

MAXIMIZATION, ECONOMIZING STRATEGIES AND THE SERVANTS OF THE H.B.C.

From the above discussion, it is evident that a great deal of behavioral variability existed within the social hierarchy of the H.B.C. In order to highlight, and aid in categorizing the various orientations, perspectives and actions of individual men, a short summary of Chapter 2 might prove useful. The primary underlying assumption of this work is that all individuals choose and develop strategies of action that reflect their own best interest through a process of "economizing" time, energy, resources and skills to meet specific ends. This process is referred to as "rational calculation", whereby individual strategies are developed on the basis of existing norms of behavior that are consistent with individual background, motivations and best interest. This approach acknowledges that individual historic actors chose to develop strategies of action after considering the options to the best of their abilities in light of divergent motivations and in the context of learned patterns of behavior. Therefore, following this approach, the concept of maximization provides a flexible basis for viewing behavior in the context of individual background in the changing context of the Rupert's land fur trade.

One problem and primary weakness of this analysis of the social organization of the H.B.C. is the necessity of inferring motivation on the part of the various categories of employees on the basis of often scanty evidence. This is particularly difficult as the meaning of being a servant of the H.B.C. likely varied on an individual basis. That is,

some men likely viewed Rupert's land service as a means of earning money with which they might resume their lives in Europe in relative comfort. Other men might perceive employment in the New World as a means of escaping difficult economic, social or political situations in their homeland, or simply as a means of adventure and excitement. Some employees might consider their role in the H.B.C. as a means of improving their lot through upward mobility into the officer category. It is also evident that many men were motivated by a strong sense of personal loyalty and identity with the Honourable Company. This loyalty often extended to acceptance of great personal risk and hardship for little immediate remunerative gain. The committment of such men was closely tied to their perception of personal and social identity through the Bay Tradition in the structure of the Hudson's Bay Company. These men formed the heart of the Company's operations, and the most skilled, able and well connected of them were in a good position to take advantage of the tradition of upward mobility to reap the rewards of their devotion to duty in the latter parts of their careers. Finally, it must be reiterated that for the most of the men and their families occupying the small isolated inland trade posts, the life within the fort community was the only social reality. For years at a time social interaction was limited to the relationship with a relatively limited number of co-workers, superiors and their families, and much of this daily existence was shaped and coloured by the organizational structure of the Hudson's Bay Company. In this light, the perceptions and actions of individual men was shaped by a relatively limited range of options. The choices that these men made aids greatly in suggesting their individual motivations and economizing strategies.

Several generalized categories of men can be defined that imply possible economizing strategies or options available to H.B.C. servants. These categories must be considered to be highly generalized and subject to modification to reflect individual men and their motivations. Individual economizing strategies may be implied by the duration of service, the tone of their bargaining stance at contract renegotiation time, and strategies of financial planning and expenditure.

The majority of H.B.C. employees during the period under study were of Orcadian origin, but the career histories of these men imply a divergence of attitudes and plans. On the one hand many Orcadian labourers chose to remain in Rupert's land for a relatively short time. They might serve for one five year contract, and perhaps a smaller second contract at advanced wages. After this second phase of service, they returned to Europe to resume their lives with relatively substantial capital with which to embark on new ventures. The career profiles of David Brown and Peter Houston serve as examples of this category of employee (Figure 16). Both of these men served for a short duration after their initial contract expired, both stated a wish to return to Europe after five years service, and both agreed to remain in Rupert's land at significantly higher wages.

In the case of D. Brown, he appears to have bargained vigorously for a substantial wage increase from an undermanned Inland Master who was "obliged" to agree to the salary in spite of the prohibition against incountry contract signings (Figure 16). The strength of this man's position is brought forcefully home when it is realized that this high salary was again confirmed in Rupert's land in spite of the protests from London (Figure 16). These aggressive wage negotiation tactics

probably were what led the London Committee to comment at length regarding the "combinations" of the labourers and the men's use of ultimatums at "ship time". The rather frugal expenditures for clothing, equipment and luxury goods is also notable in both cases (Figure 16). Furthermore, these men consistently accumulated large balances in their accounts which they periodically invested either through European family members, or through their agent (Figure 16). These men were mapping their career strategies with a plan to protect their income with a frugal lifestyle and careful European investment, and returned relatively quickly to Europe to resume their lives there. In this context, they could be expected to have been less interested in establishing and maintaining Country families, in going to great physical risk for the sake of the Company, and would not likely have developed a wide-ranging Country Skilled background. Furthermore, the war-induced level of inflation (Marshall 1973:79-80) in Britain throughout the late 18th and early 19th centuries likely forced these men to aggressively seek increasingly higher salaries in an attempt to keep up with the inflationary spiral. As these men were working in Rupert's land with the intention of retirement in Europe, they likely were under great necessity to assure that their Rupert's land wages and savings rose at a rate that was consistent with this level of inflation.

One of the most important categories of Company employees was the long term, career oriented employee of Orcadian background. From this group of men were recruited potential officers and men who formed a corps of Country Skilled employees, who carried out many important duties, and who aided in the training and leadership of junior labourers. The career profile of James Anderson may be considered

characteristic of this type of employee (Figure 17). This man throughout a career of almost 25 years served in a number of capacities in addition to his trade as a tailor for a steadily increasing salary (Figure 17). This individual also made European investments both through his father and his agents at regular intervals throughout his career (Figure 17). However, there was a marked decline in both the quantity and regularity of these investments in the latter half of his career (Figure 17). Also of note is that the annual expenditures made by Anderson increased dramatically after about 1802 (Figure 17). Perhaps this pattern of increased expenditure reflects a decision (after six years of service) to make a career of service in the H.B.C.. No doubt, a decision to make a long term committment to the H.B.C. service also included a decision to accumulate some of the staples and luxuries of life. The increased expeditures may also reflect a decision to establish long term and stable Country marriages, and the need to provide goods, clothing and other necessities for a growing family. Such a lifestyle clearly reflects a differing economizing strategy as men of this type chose to remain in Rupert's land, and live much of their lives in one or another of a series of inland stations. These men also appear more inclined to use more "passive" wage negotiation tactics as characterized by John Sutherland's "Servant's Resolves" for 1794.

> Will stay one year longer. trusting your honour's will reward according as you may judge his merits deserves... (HBCA, PAM, A.30/6/11d-12).

This offer may be considered as something of a bargaining ploy that was calculated to highlight his devotion to duty and fair mindedness, particularly in light of his conspicuous inland service. This offer forms a marked contrast to Sutherland's "ultimatum" written in his

outpost journal for 1794 (HBCA, PAM, B.63/a/1/13d, 14) which ascribed his lack of promotion to a lack of patronage links and as he had started service as a labourer. The men forming the long service European employee category clearly were much more prepared to accept long inland service without complaint, and to rely on the informal balance of power between the collective power of the labourers and the sanctioned authority of the officer. It is also notable that prior to the establishment of the Red River Settlement, even these men made careful financial investments in view of eventual retirement to Europe (Figure 17).

A third major type of H.B.C. employee is characterized by Country Born or Native men. These men could be either short or long term employees; they could be formally salaried or informally paid with goods. They were consistently Country Skilled and often were given higher than average starting salaries (Figure 8). Figure 18 illustrates the salary profiles of Humphrey and Thomas Favel. Of immediate interest is the high rate of expenditures made by these men both from the Factory and direct from England (Figure 18). These expenditures even exceeded those of the long term Orcadian servants, and sometimes exceeded the annual income of these men. This phenomenon forms a marked contrast to the frugal lifestyle of the short term Orcadian labourers. These men, while they sometimes made financial investments in Europe, exhibit a marked preference to use their accumulated salaries to purchase goods, equipment and luxury items for use in Rupert's land. Perhaps these purchases may be viewed as another form of investment against eventual retirement from the H.B.C. service. As these men were unlikely to retire to Europe, they appear to have been accumulating possessions in

preparation for retirement in Rupert's land. These purchases may also have been used in a clandestine private fur trade, and used to clothe and equip their families and kinsmen. No doubt many of these goods were used as gifts to numerous Native kinsmen and associates as part of a larger network of social contacts and mutual obligations which might bear fruit before and after their release from the service.

Both of the Favel brothers appear to have maintained a close link to the Hudson's Bay Company through the example of their father's career, and through their affinal kin link with John McKay. It can also be suggested that this close identity with the H.B.C. service declined markedly after the death of John McKay and in light of the undermining of the labourers' bargaining position in the post-retrenchment period. This close affinity with the H.B.C. was formally severed when these increasingly dissatisfied men were released from the service at the height of the trade war period in 1816. After this time their only link to their former employers was through the purchase of goods against their credit accounts through their nephew John Richards McKay, the Master of the post at Beaver Creek. While both Thomas and Humphery Favel were relatively well paid, many Country Born and Native men did not fare nearly as well. Some examples are Charles Fidler, John Favel and George Kipling (Figures 8 and 9). The low salary in spite of their Country Skills is somewhat surprising, however one possible explanation might lie in the career strategies of these men. As these men were unlikely to retire to Europe, they would not view European inflation as a consideration for retirement. In fact, if the price of goods charged to them remained somewhat static (or at least somewhat controlled), they would not be as likely to feel the same necessity to seek a salary that

kept up with the rate of European inflation in order to protect their "retirement capital". In the case of these men, their retirement capital took the form of a credit account with the Company, some European financial investments, and a stock of equipment, clothing, tools and supplies that could be used after retirement in maintaining themselves in Rupert's land.

Many Country Born men served long and faithfully within the H.B.C. in positions of some responsibility due to their Country Skills and links with the Native community. However, some of these men faced conflicting senses of obligation and loyalty between their employers, and their kinsmen and associates. This situation is dramatically illustrated by the case of John Richards, the Country Born "Patroon" who served at Red River between 1793 and 1798. His loyalty to the Company appears to have been closely linked to his relationship with the Master in charge. For example, he deserted the service in 1794 in response to his personality clash with "Mad" Donald McKay (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/1/), but returned to Brandon House in the fall of 1794 when Robert Goodwin took charge (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/2/). Unfortunately, Richards became involved in the murder of an Indian woman, which in turn created a dangerous situation as the family of the murdered woman held all H.B.C. employees partially responsible (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/2/9d, 10d).

The problem of Richards' irresponsibility, alcoholism and his conflicting loyalties surfaced again in the 1797-98 season while he was in charge of the Pembina River Outpost (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/5). At this time he was accused by his men of inappopriate behavior, drunkeness and the unrestrained gift giving to Native and Country Born associates (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/5). Amid these accusations Richards deserted the

service. Clearly he was faced with conflicting loyalties and obligations between his employer and his kinsmen and associates. On the one hand he was given great authority, responsibility and status as an outpost master. At the same time he probably was subjected to great pressure from his non-H.B.C. associates to share his goods by gift giving. If he failed to be generous, he risked the social relationship with his non-H.B.C. associates. Perhaps his failure to accept his responsibilities as Outpost Master may be viewed at least in part as a decision to fulfill his social obligations to his non H.B.C. associates.

The economizing strategies of these three Country Born men form an interesting contrast to that of both the long and short term Orcadian labourers. The short term Orcadian labourers sometimes risked alienating their supervisors by aggressively maximizing their salaries on the strength of their bargaining position with little regard for their long term future as they did not intend to remain long in Rupert's land. The whole nature of their careers reflects an orientation towards careful saving, and European financial investment in order to return to Europe with a large proportion of their income intact. Many of the long term labourers began their careers following this approach, but after five to seven years of service, they appear to have chosen to remain in Rupert's land for a long term at increasingly larger salaries, responsibility and status. This orientation probably implies a more long term economizing strategy that would take advantage of the Bay Tradition of upward mobility, but still with an eye towards eventual retirement to Europe. This long term strategy was changed in the case of many men after the establishment of the Red River Settlement, and its development as a Rupert's land retirement centre whereby these men no longer were forced

to "abandon" their Country families upon retirement.

It is evident from the above discussion that the analytical perspective of maximization provides a suitable framework to view the actions of individual men and their divergent motivations. It is a particularly fruitful approach for the consideration of the financial planning of the European Servants. If the definition of economizing is expanded beyond financial strategies to include expenditure of time, energy and resources to met material and non-material ends, the perspective of maximization can serve as a useful tool to understand all social behavior.

SUMMARY

The previous three chapters have set about describing the formal and informal hierarchy of the H.B.C. at a specific time and place in an attempt to make extrapolations to the larger society of the H.B.C.'s Rupert's land trade post system. It has also described individual behavior in order to point out variations in the formal and informal structure of this hierarchy, and has attempted to describe this society in a state of change. These diverse goals have the net effect of forcing the author to describe the social organization of the H.B.C. in a synchronic and diachronic framework, often at the same time. This is a serious organizational problem as the study encompasses a period of rapid and profound change, with no "steady state" existing from which the process of change can be contrasted.

With the beginning of this study in the 1790's at the establishment of Brandon House, the process of H.B.C. expansion into the interior was already well under way. This large scale expansion at a time of labour

shortages due to European warfare created a situation that enabled the labourers to dramatically increase salary scales and shorten contract lengths (Figures 8 and 9). It also assured the labourers a strong position to expand upon formal and informal benefits for the service in the interior. However, the relationship between war-induced labour shortages and bargaining for improved conditions was much more complex than one based upon a notion of "supply and demand". One of the most important of the variables affecting the work-related hierarchy and the power relationship was the social mileau of the Hudson's Bay Company in Rupert's land. This social structure developed through the early history of the Company, was based in pre-Industrial Revolution British social organization, and can be discribed by reference to the paternalistic hierarchy of the "household" (Laslett 1971), and the development of the "Bay Tradition" in Rupert's land (Foster 1976). The previous chapter has also described the process of change in this social structure imposed by the London Committee, and has described the implications for the employees. These changes reflect the influence of new management orientations developed in part through the British Industrial Revolution which were perceived as a means of reforming the excesses of the older system, and to instill sounder business practices within the Company service.

THE BAY TRADITION AND THE ERA OF INLAND EXPANSION

As described previously, the household system of social organization in the Rupert's land context saw a paternalistic authority figure at the apex of a social pyramid (Figure 1, Table 1). Below this key figure were arranged a succession of work-related positions of

lesser social consequence. In effect, the H.B.C. inland service can be viewed as a system that delegated authority and status to the heads of successively smaller hierarchies. This authority flowed downwards from the "Bayside Factor", to "Inland Masters", to "Assistants and Traders", to "Outpost Masters", and finally to the senior labourers and tradesmen. At the bottom of this hierarchy were the relatively unskilled junior labourers. At each inland establishment this pyramidal hierarchy was replicated and served to define both work and non-work relationships, although informal accomodations had the effect of modifing the formal structure. A significant measure of internal upward mobility also characterized this hierarchy. By this means individual men, whose aspirations were met by long term service in Rupert's land, could hope to improve their "station" within the service. Movement upward within the hierarchy was dependent upon a number of variables, not the least of which were long experience, literacy, ability and patronage connections.

Supplementing, defining and sometimes contradicting this formal pyramidal hierarchy was a web of informal expectations and obligations that expedited the operation of the inland trade system. One central issue affecting the operation of the inland system was that power (or influence) did not necessarily rest solely with authority. While the paternalistic authority figure might wield great power, it is also evident that the men under his charge monitored the effect of his orders, and strove to protect and enhance their own situations. In effect, the labourers used a number of techniques, both collective and individual, to modify the power relationship, and use their bargaining position to establish a range of informal benefits. Some such bargaining strategies included work "slow downs" and work stoppages, threatened

desertion, and attempts to control the availability of new recruits. These strategies were used with great effectiveness in times of labour shortages and served to fulfill a number of objectives. Some such objectives include attempts to:

1) increase salary levels and to shorten contract lengths;

2) speed up the process of contract negotiation;

3) assure that the price of goods or "slops" did not rise;

4) attempt to limit "excessive" extra duties;

5) protect and expand informal benefits incolving alcohol, food and leather allocations; and

6) avoid dangerous labour and assure "days of rest".

While the work-related hierarchy was highly structured and formalized, it is also evident that the effectiveness of the system was largely dependent upon the relationship between individual superior servants and the inferior servants under his charge. Individuals in charge could not rely solely upon "sanctioned" authority. Rather, this authority was strengthened and possibly even validated by informal criteria which measured and ranked individuals in terms of "male worth", ability, experience, force of character, physical strength and endurance. Possessing such highly valued characteristics would have been particularly important to the senior labourers who often served as informal officers. These men did not possess formally delegated authority and would have relied upon their informal social consequence to back up their authority while in charge of outposts, trade camps and work parties.

As the forgoing discussion has illustrated, the master/servant relationship often was characterized by a strong patronage link. There is no doubt that such patronage links could have detrimental effects

from undeserved promotions and bitterness over being "passed over", as evidenced by the complaints by John Sutherland (HBCA, PAM, B.63/a/1) and the record of destructive competition between the officers. However, this patronage system was an essential element of the Bay Tradition. The officer in charge would be in the best position to judge the most suitable men to take charge of work parties. He would choose the most skilled and experienced, most reliable and best known of the men under his charge. These men had likely served for several years under their patron's charge, and might even have developed kinship or friendship bonds with him. Furthermore, mutual respect for professional skills based upon shared experiences would likely figure in the relationship between the inland officers and their more senior labourers. Quite logically, an officer would promote the best interest of his key men as a token of his gratitude for their past faithful service, and to assure the availability of satisfied labourers to assist him in future. No doubt a grateful officer would also be more prepared to grant valued senior labourers special favours and privileges, and overlook indiscretions. No doubt, this sort of relationship characterized that between John McKay and his key men such as Thomas Norn, John Lyons, James Slatter (Sr), William Yorston and the Favel brothers.

Despite the paternalistic authority of the officer group, it is evident that the effective operation of the post depended upon a finely balanced relationship between the master and the labourers. This was particularly the case with the relationship between the officers and the senior Country Skilled labourers. On the one hand, the officer had formal authority and also the power to destroy the career of a difficult labourer. However, use of this power had to be exercised with great care

and tact in order to prevent a confrontation with the labourers. If an officer failed to take into consideration the collective power of the labourer group, he could face the withdrawl of their services until compromises and suitable face-saving measures could be worked out. A dramatic case in point is the conflict between James Sutherland, and Thomas Richards and John Easter. The record of conflict between officers and labourers clearly attests to the fact that such a fine line was difficult to achieve even for experienced inland officers such as James Sutherland, Robert Goodwin and John McKay. It is also evident that the labourers were not above attempting to expand upon their informal benefits, or even to take advantage of their position of strength to make increasingly unacceptable demands upon even the most tolerant master. Even John McKay was called upon to voice his displeasure in print when the actions of the labourers threatened to raise the cost of conducting the trade to a prohibitive level.

On the other hand, the labourers had to temper aggressive bargaining tactics with a consideration of their individual aspirations within the Hudson's Bay Company service. Labourers who remained in Rupert's land for only one or two terms of service were likely more difficult to manage. These men would be more likely to indulge in aggressive bargaining practises, as they would have taken a more "short term" view and sought to maximize their income before resuming their lives in Europe. Men who sought long term service in Rupert's land likely tempered their wage requests and dealings with their superiors with the intention of assuring a favorable impression in the records. By faithful and consistent service, "passive" bargaining techniques and careful cultivation of patronage links, a long term labourer could be

expected to achieve sustained upward mobility, and eventually a high salary. With this in mind, labourers interested in long-term employment protected their position, expanded their benefits and avoided dangerous situations by using a series of passive techniques and delaying tactics that were calculated to not arouse the ire of the officer in charge. Consequently, the Bay Tradition of upward mobility can be seen to have served the Company's interests in controlling the labourers, assuring a supply of long term servants, providing for the training of new leaders, and aiding in breaking up collective bargaining techniques by encouraging the individual aspirations of some men to become officers of the Honourable Company.

THE INLAND SERVICE IN A CLIMATE OF CHANGE

Despite the H.B.C.'s successful expansion into the interior, by the first decade of the 1800's the Company was forced to implement dramatic structural changes to the service. The combination of rapidly escalating costs of maintaining men inland, war-induced shortages of men and goods, poor markets, and aggressive competition from the North West Company, placed the Company in increasingly serious financial stress. These variables led key shareholders such as Andrew Wedderburn and Thomas Douglas to push for the implementation of more "business-like" practises developed out of the experience of the British Industrial Revolution. These new practises, commonly called the "Retrenchment Policy", were characterized by more detailed and complex accounting procedures, efforts to cut costs by rolling back salaries, raising prices, and attempting to inculcate a greater spirit of competition in their senior employees. An important element of this program was a sustained effort

to break the power of the Orcadian labourers by initiating a labourer diversification program. Evidently the written reports of aggressive bargaining techniques and allegations of conspiracies to bargain collectively alarmed the London management of the Company, and a labourer diversification program was perceived as a means of correcting this problem. It is also evident that efforts were made to attack the perceived shortcomings of patronage and internal upward mobility of labourers into the officer group. The primary focus of these efforts was with the recruitment of large numbers of educated junior officers of "respectable connections" in an effort to end the reliance upon Country Skilled senior labourers as potential officers. The recruitment of these young men reflects an effort to train potential senior officers whose education would enable them to deal with the complex new accounting procedures. The social position of these men's backgrounds was also considered to be a means of assuring "reliability", and that a proper distinction between the officers and the men would be maintained.

The net effect of the Retrenching System was the development of a more rigorous, formalized and coordinated command structure. This centralized management structure was perceived as a means of correcting errors and extraneous costs by limiting the authority of the inland post masters in favour of the "superior judgement" of the Factors and Governors. This centralization of the decision-making process and implementation of careful accounting procedures also had the effect of increasingly bureaucratizing the service. It also put "ceilings" upon the aspirations of the labourers and introduced new criteria for leadership. The necessity for highly educated officers created a demand for men with specialized European skills, and had the effect of

downgrading the importance of Country Skills and experience as a trader in the inland. Such a development was a serious attack upon the senior labourers who were highly experienced in the inland trade, but who often lacked the formal education and new social criteria needed to move upward into the officer category. The position of the old style of inland officer was also placed under increased pressure as they were increasingly superseded by junior officers with the appropriate European skills as accountants and managers.

Related to the Retrenching Policy, another major innovation in Rupert's land in the early 1810's was the development of the Selkirk Settlement at the forks of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers. This colony and the actions of its senior officers stirred the suspicions and animosity of both the North West Company and many of the "Bois Brules" under their influence. The colony was perceived as part of the escalating violent competition between the major companies, and sparked a concerted effort to destroy both it and the H.B.C.. However, with the passing of tensions after the trade war era, and with the firm establishiment of the colony, it became an increasingly attractive retirement, agricultural and commercial centre for a large segment of the Rupert's land population of several ethnic and company affiliations.

The second decade of the 19th century saw the development of several factors that contributed to a rising dissatisfaction with the prospect of long term service in the H.B.C. The Retrenching System initiated a series of attacks upon the position of the labourers in the form of wage rollbacks, the loss of bounties and premiums, a rise in the price of goods, and the curtailment of many informal benefits. The implementation of institutionalized ceilings upon the wages for

labourers and officers alike, and the formal blocks or limits upon upward mobility are also noteworthy. Furthermore, the more centralized authority of the post-retrenchment service led to the undermining of old patronage links as old officers were replaced or superseded by the new officers of "respectable connections" and formal education (and new patronage links). As the new order took effect, it would have become increasingly apparent to the key senior labourers, such as William Yorston, that their high-status role in the Company Service was being rapidly undermined. The hopes and ambitions of such men were damaged and the consequent distrust and bitterness is readily apparent in Yorston's complaints of being "disregarded". The widespread effect of such dissatisfaction is also apparent in the increased number of long term employees who left the service by the latter half of the 1810's. It can be speculated that these men left the service on the basis of:

> 1) their dissatisfaction over their role in the new order, and they chose to return to Europe or become freemen in Rupert's land; or
>
> 2) that these men were removed from the service because they persisted in attempts to protect their position by use of old bargaining techniques that had lost their effectiveness, and raised the ire of officers mindful of the new directives from London.

This growing disillusionment with the prospects offered by long term service was given added fuel with the increased physical dangers associated with the trade war era, and the tough, more "business-like" attitude of the new management structure.

This dissatisfaction coincided with the development of new economic niches in Rupert's land. Some such new opportunities included that offered by the freeman lifestyle as hunters and trappers, employment on a short term or seasonal basis by the Company, or with retirement to the

Red River Colony as farmers, tradesmen or businessmen. No doubt, these opportunities would have appeared to be very attractive to long term servants with Country families who had no desire to return to Europe after an absence of ten, twenty or even thirty years. Country Born men, who had known no other life but that offered by the inland posts, would also find retirment in Red River rather attractive. These men may be perceived as reassessing their position within the H.B.C. hierarchy, and begun to formulate new economizing strategies that took advantage of new social and economic options. It must be emphasized that men embarking upon these new "opportunities" did so at great risk, hardship and danger. No longer were they assured of food and lodging in the Men's House, and provided with a steady income from which they could pay for goods, clothing and equipment. The pursuit of such precarious new activities may be considered a reflection of just how unpalitable the H.B.C. service had become for many such men.

The decline of the fortunes of many Brandon House men after the Retrenchment of 1810 may be considered symbolic of the beginning of the decline of the "Bay Tradition" based upon the "household" pattern of social organization that Foster (1976) described as occuring in the mid 1800's. That is, the Retrenchment marks the beginning of the end of social institutions rooted in the late Middle Ages, and its eventual replacement with new social and commercial institutions, perceptions and attitudes developed from the experience of the British Industiral Revolution. The people caught in this transition were the Country Born and long term European labourers who, in many cases, had grown up and spent most of their adult lives attuning their hopes and ambitions to the H.B.C. service based upon the ideals of the Bay Tradition. With

relative rapidity the formal and informal rules governing behavior, values and expectations were arbitrarily changed, and they were relegated to increasingly downgraded social roles in the new order.

The development of this "modern" element in the Hudson's Bay Company sparked profound rearrangements of the social organization of Rupert's land. The most dramatic of these developments was the curtailment of the long standing tradition of social mobility whereby ambitious young labourers might improve their lot in life. Upward mobility and patronage links remained an important element of the H.B.C. service, however, the traditions of the vertically integrated movement of labourers into the officer category became increasingly rare. Young labourers could only expect to rise to the position of the Country Skilled labourer. Even this formerly prestigious position suffered a dramatic decline in social consequence as junior officers and clerks took over the leadership roles formerly filled by the senior labourers. Throughout the 19th century the theme of the Bay Tradition increasingly became fictive, and perpetuated only by the careers (and writings) of young, relatively educated men such as N.M.W.J. McKenzie (1920, 1921). However, for the Country Born and the relatively uneducated Orcadians, the increasingly formalized stratification and lack of mobility within the H.B.C. hierarchy greatly limited the social role they could play in the latter three quarters of the 19th century.

FOOTNOTES

1) Country Skills are those skills and abilities developed as part of one's experience in a fur trade context in northern North America. These skills could be developed by long term experience in the employ of a trade company, or by means of birth in, and life-long occupation of, Rupert's land. By way of contrast, European skills are those developed through European experience and heritage.

2) This citation refers to the documents in the collections of the Hudson's Bay Company Archives (H.B.C.A.) of the Public Archives of Manitoba (P.A.M.). In an attempt to avoid errors in interpretation, the quotations that are incorporated into this study are usually exact copies of the original document including errors in spelling, grammar and punctuation. When additional explanation is necessary, or to clarify the meaning of particularly difficult passages, the author has inserted words in brackets <--->.

3) As the author used a word processor that lacks the capability to produce the symbol for the British Pound Sterling, a capital L is used as a substitute.

4) The term Country Born refers to people of mixed European and Aboriginal parentage. This term is used instead of a range of others such as "Half Breed" to avoid the racist connotations that have subsequently been linked to such terms. "Metis", "Bois Brule" and "Rupert's land English" have also been rejected for the purposes of this study since they imply a specific ethnic origin. "Country Born" will be considered as a proper noun, and will be capitalized.

5) According to the Oxford English Dictionary (1933), "slops" can have several meanings, three of which are cited below.

> 1) A kind of footwear.
>
> 2) Wide baggy breeches or hose commonly worn in the 16th and 17th century. Loose trowsers especially those worn by sailors.
>
> 3) Ready made clothing and other furnishings supplied to seamen from the ship's stores hence ready made cheap or inferior garments.

6) Standard deviation is a statistical measure of dispersal from an average or mean. It reflects the average variation of a population of scores from the mean of that population. Standard deviation serves to reflect the degree of dispersal of the scores around the mean and is directly affected by the number of scores (n) in the population. As the number of scores vary within each population considered in this thesis, care must be taken to make the point that the mean and standard deviation are considered individually on a yearly basis. No direct comparison of mean and standard deviation can be made from one year to the next other than to identify individuals whose salaries consistently exceeded the standard deviation.

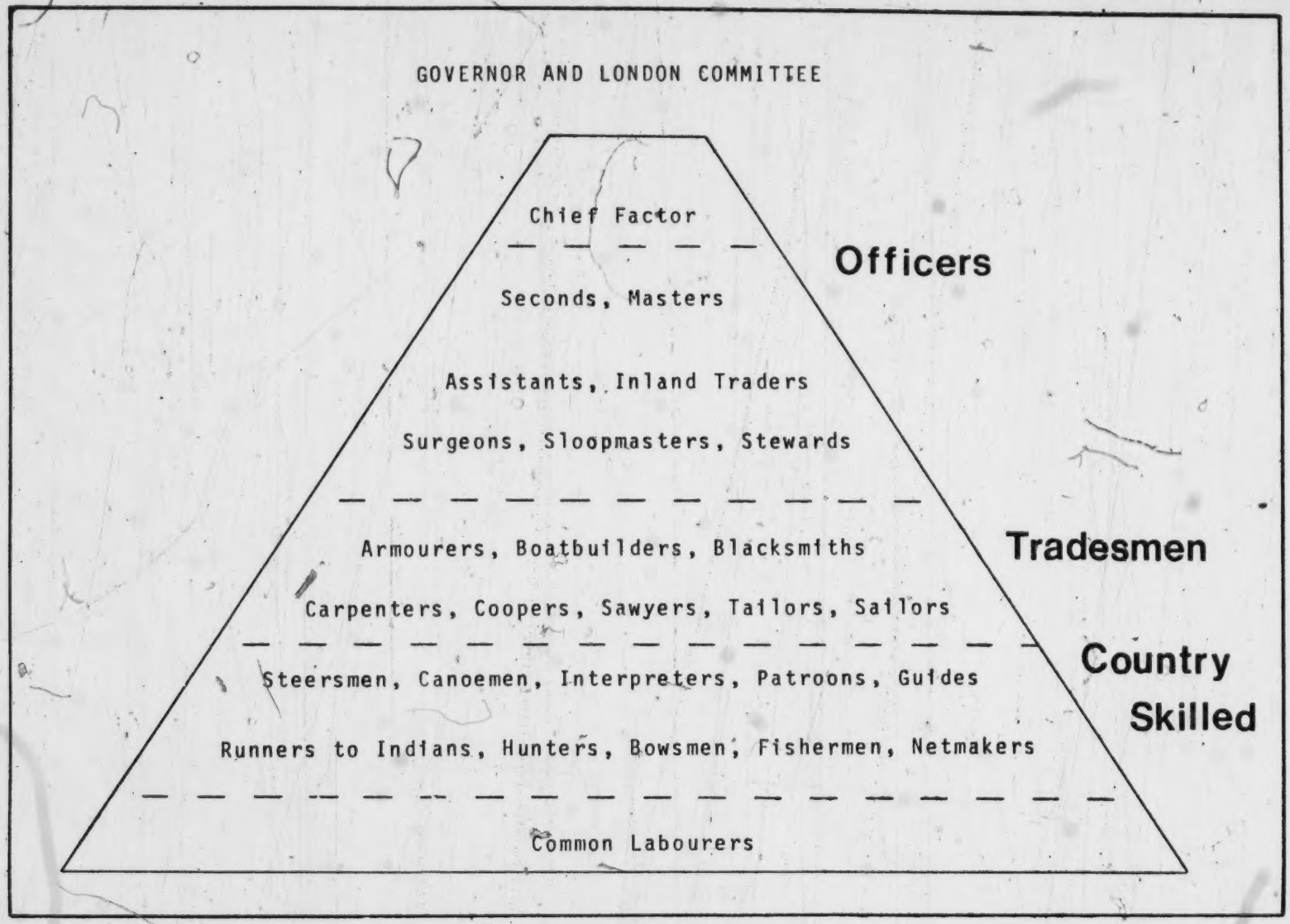


Figure 1 The Formal Hierarchy of the Hudson's Bay Company.

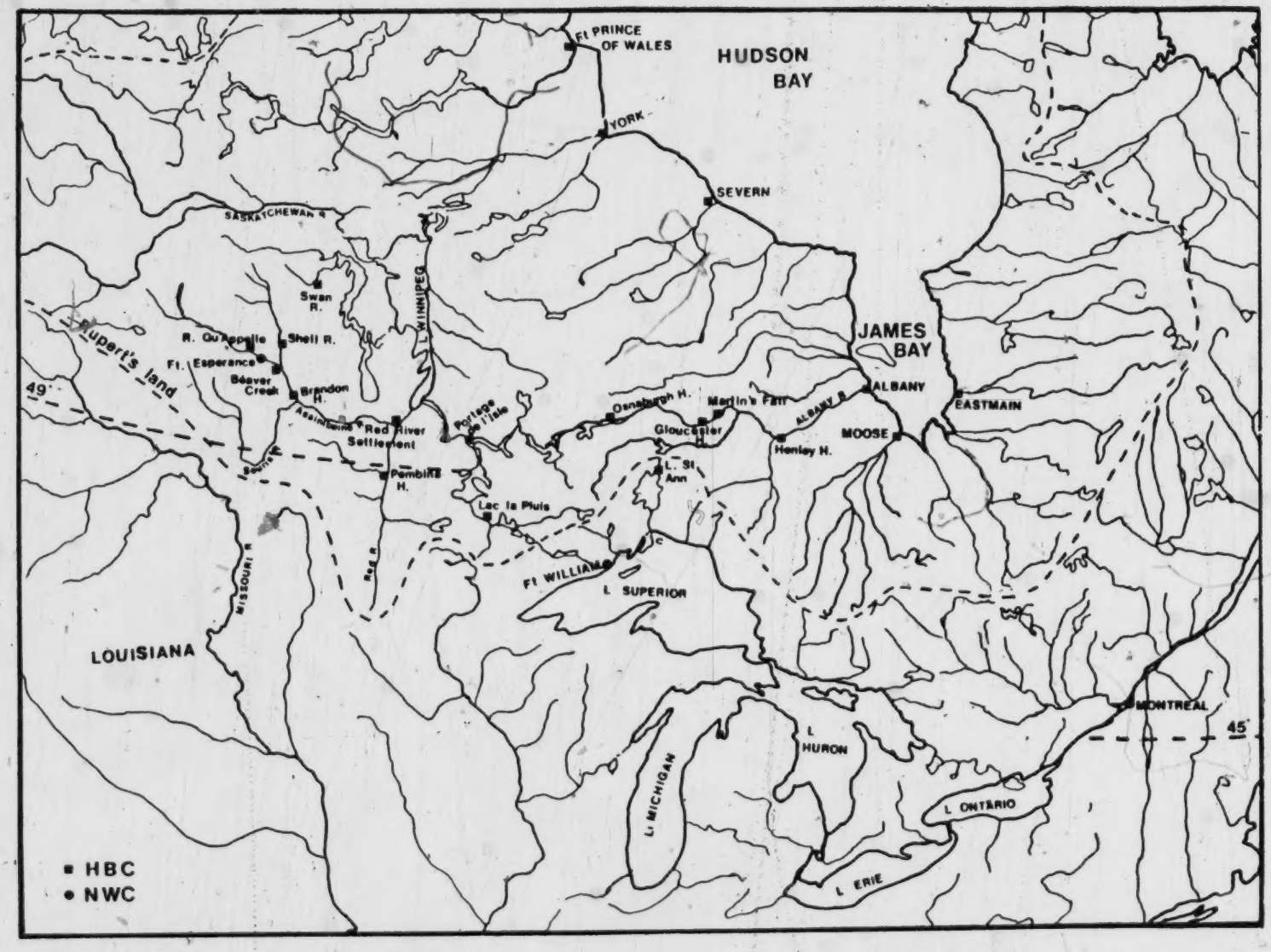


Figure 2 Some Fur Trade Posts in Southwestern Rupert's land (1793-1821).

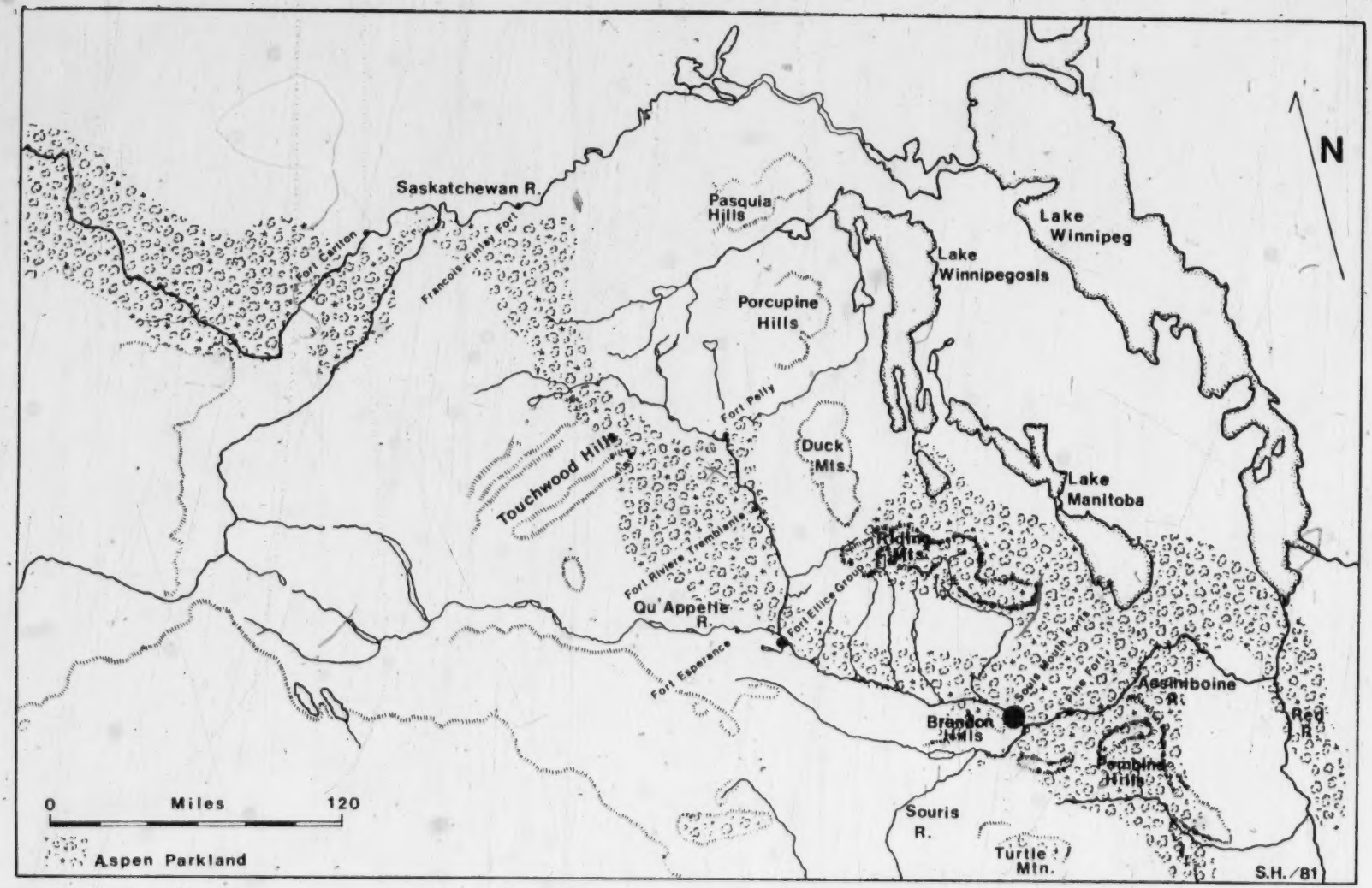


Figure 3 The Ecotone Boundary between the Prairie and the Forest (Brandon House is one of the Souris Mouth Forts)

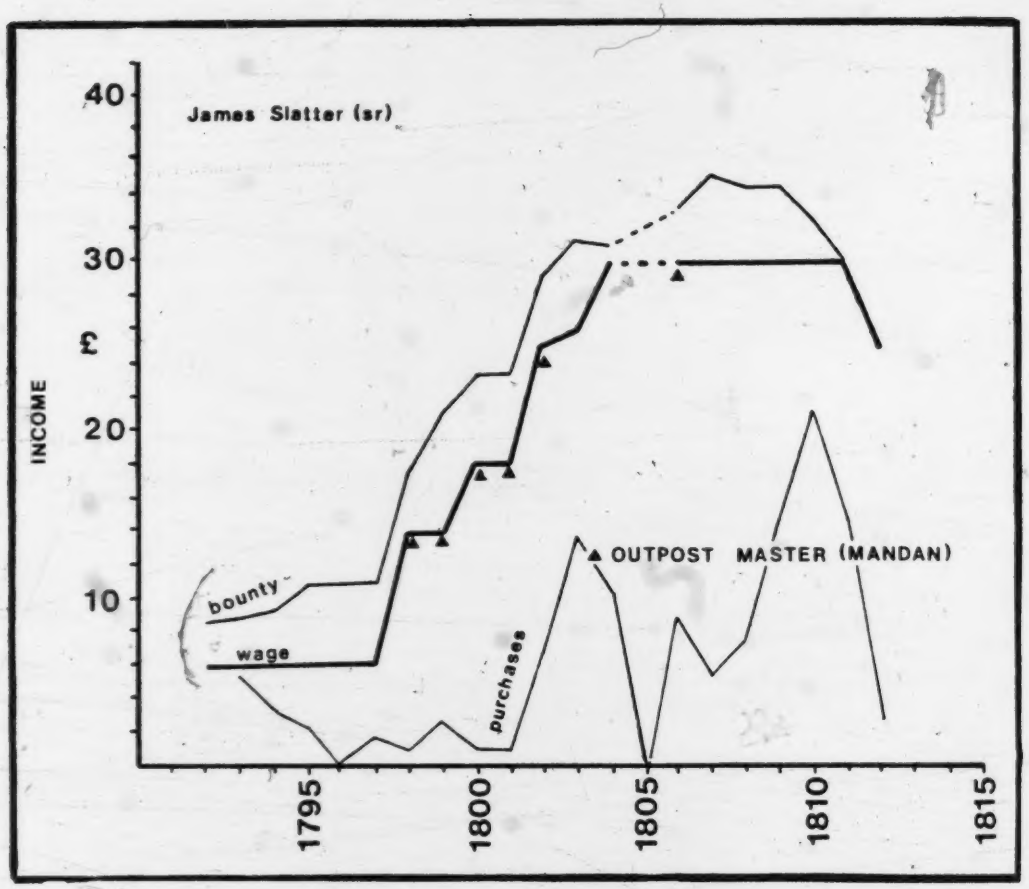


Figure 4 The Salary Profile of James Slatter (Sr)

HBCA PAM, A.16/6/25,157
A.16/7/47,128

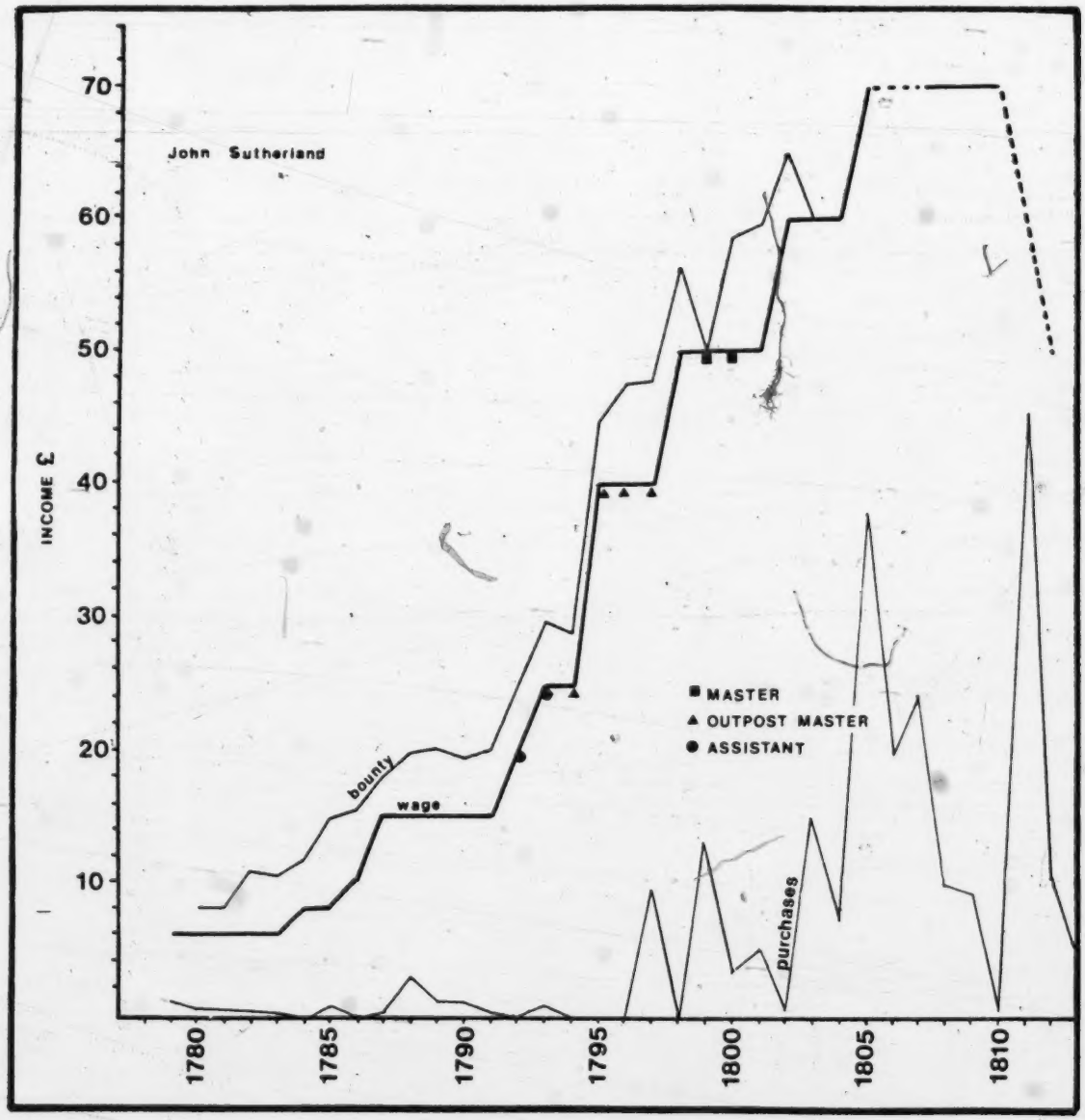


Figure 5 The Salary Profile of John Sutherland.
HBCA, PAM, A.16/4/137
A.16/5/33,82,134
A.16/6/58,135
A.16/7/10,119

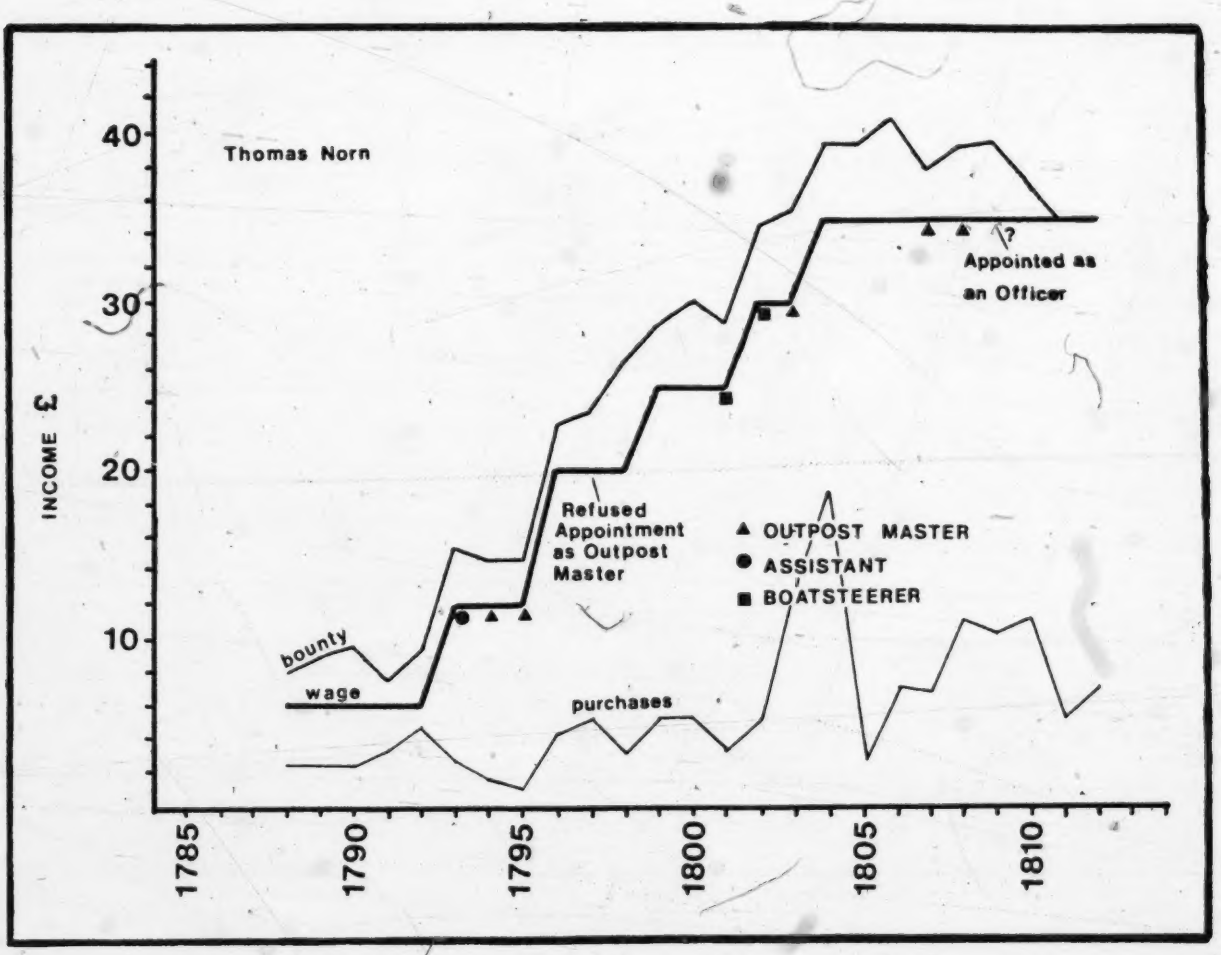


Figure 6 The Salary Profile of Thomas Norn
HBCA, PAM, A.16/5/100
A.16/6/55,143
A.16/7/63

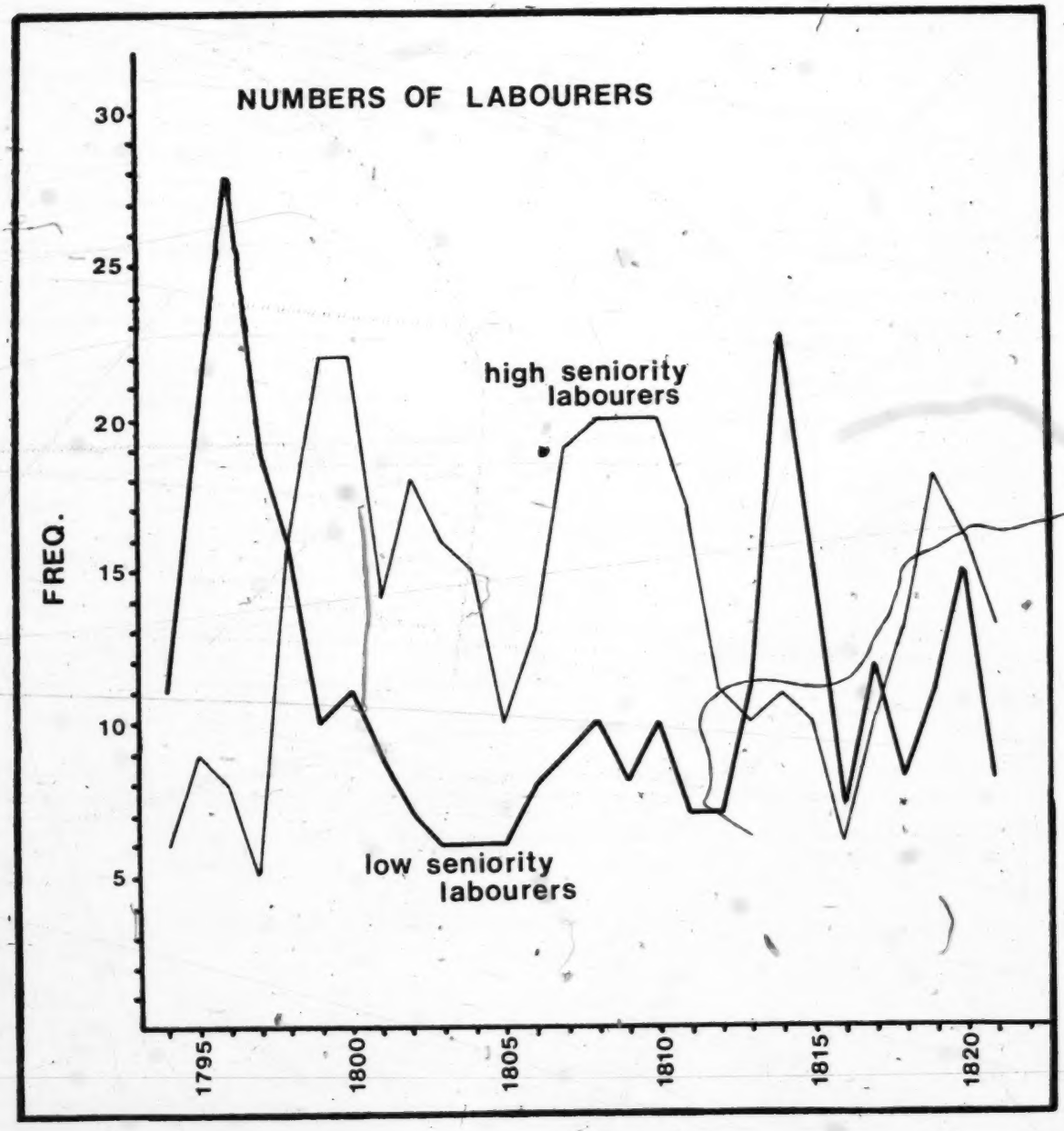
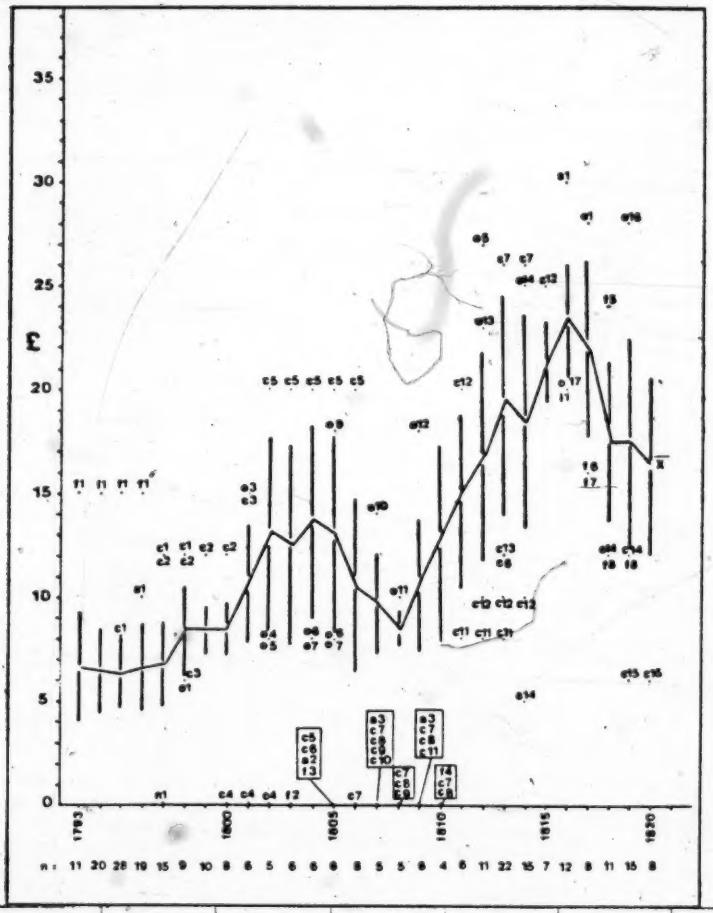
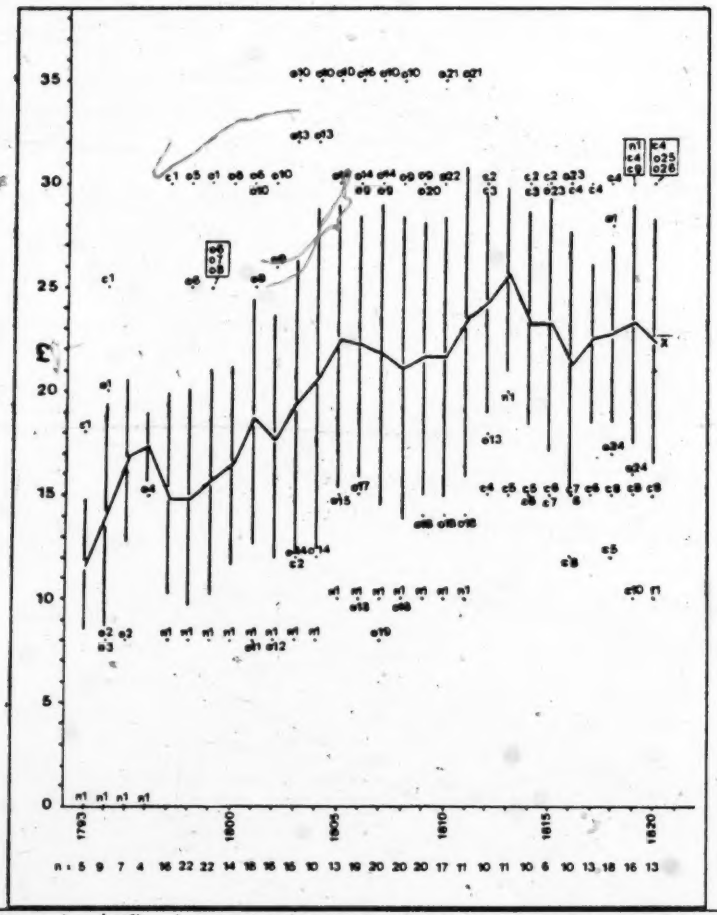


Figure 7 The Changing Level of Experience of the Brandon House Workforce.



			COUNTRY BORN	NATIVE	ENGLISH CANADIAN	FRENCH CANADIAN	CREOLE	SCOTS	IRISH	OTHER
HIGH PAY	Very High Pay	E	c1 T Richards c2 J Lyons c5 H Fawel c7 J R Kipling		a1 A McDonnell	f1 L Jollycoeur f5 L Demarais	o15 M Loutitt o16 A Setter	a1 H Fraiser		
	Moderately High Pay	F	c1 T Richards c7 J R Kipling				o2 G Henderson o3 T Spence o9 T Bore o10 T Anderson o11 J Cragie o12 G Setter o13 W Corrigal o14 W Sinclair			o1 J Haywood
LOW PAY	Moderately Low Pay	F	c3 H Linklater c12 C Fidler			f6 M Lambert f7 L Marceau f8 C Lamiere	o1 J Thompson o4 T Johnson o5 P Wick o6 I Anderson o7 G Inkster o8 J Scarth o17 T Kirkness		i1 J Forbes	
	Very Low Pay	E	c4 P Sutherland c5 J R Mckay c6 J Kipling c7 J R Kipling c8 P T Kipling c9 W Mckay c10 E McKay c11 J Fawel c13 W Kipling c12 C Fidler c14 T Kipling c15 G Kipling	b1 Nowbelstick	a2 H Heney a3 P Souci	f2 Manor f3 LaFrance f4 Belhumeur				
Pre 1810	A		6/24				123/158			
	B		2/24				16/158			
Post 1810	A		9/24			5/11	7/158	6/23	6/18	
	B		6/24		1/1	6/11	32/158	17/23	12/18	

Figure 8 The Mean Wage paid to Low Seniority Labourers
A No. of men earning greater than x within s.d.
B No. of men earning less than x within s.d.
E Greater than L 2 beyond limits of s.d.
F Less than L 2 beyond limits of s.d.
c/d No. of men/ total number of men of that ethnic category



			COUNTRY BORN	NATIVE	ENGLISH CANADIAN	FRENCH CANADIAN	ORCADIAN	SCOTS	IRISH	OTHER
RICH PAY	Very high pay	E	c1 J Richards c4 F Monjunier				o5 M Prince o6 H Lane o7 T Miller o8 J Yeaton o10 T Horn o9 J Slatter o13 W Louttit o16 W Ballentine o21 W Yeaton			
	Moderately high pay	F	c2 J Lyons c3 T Favel c- F Monjunier c9 P T Kipling	n1 J Easter			o1 J Linkleter o9 J Slatter o14 G Budge o20 H Johnson o22 G Henderson o23 G Setter o25 A Setter o26 W Sinclair			o1 J Haywood
LOW PAY	Moderately low pay	F	c2 J Lyons c6 T Kipling c7 J Favel	n1 J Easter			o2 J Scarth o3 M Flaws o4 W Taylor o14 G Budge o15 G Mowat o17 T Mason o18 W Rowe o23 G Setter o24 J Folster			
	Very low pay	E	c4 F Monjunier c5 G Monjunier c6 T Kipling c7 J Favel c8 J Kipling c10 J Kipling	n1 J Easter		f1 M Reise	o11 M Mowatt o12 J Eason o18 W Rowe o19 T Craigie			
Pre 1810	A		14/25 c/d	—	2/2	11/11	70/185			
	B		11/25				95/185			
Post 1810	A		21/21	3/3		3/3	13/28	5/5	1/5	1/1
	B		10/21				15/28		4/5	

Figure 9 The Mean Wage paid to High Seniority Labourers
A No. of men earning greater than x within s.d.
B No. of men earning less than x within s.d.
E Greater than L 2 beyond limits of s.d.
F Less than L 2 beyond limits of s.d.
c/d No. of men/total number of men of that ethnic category

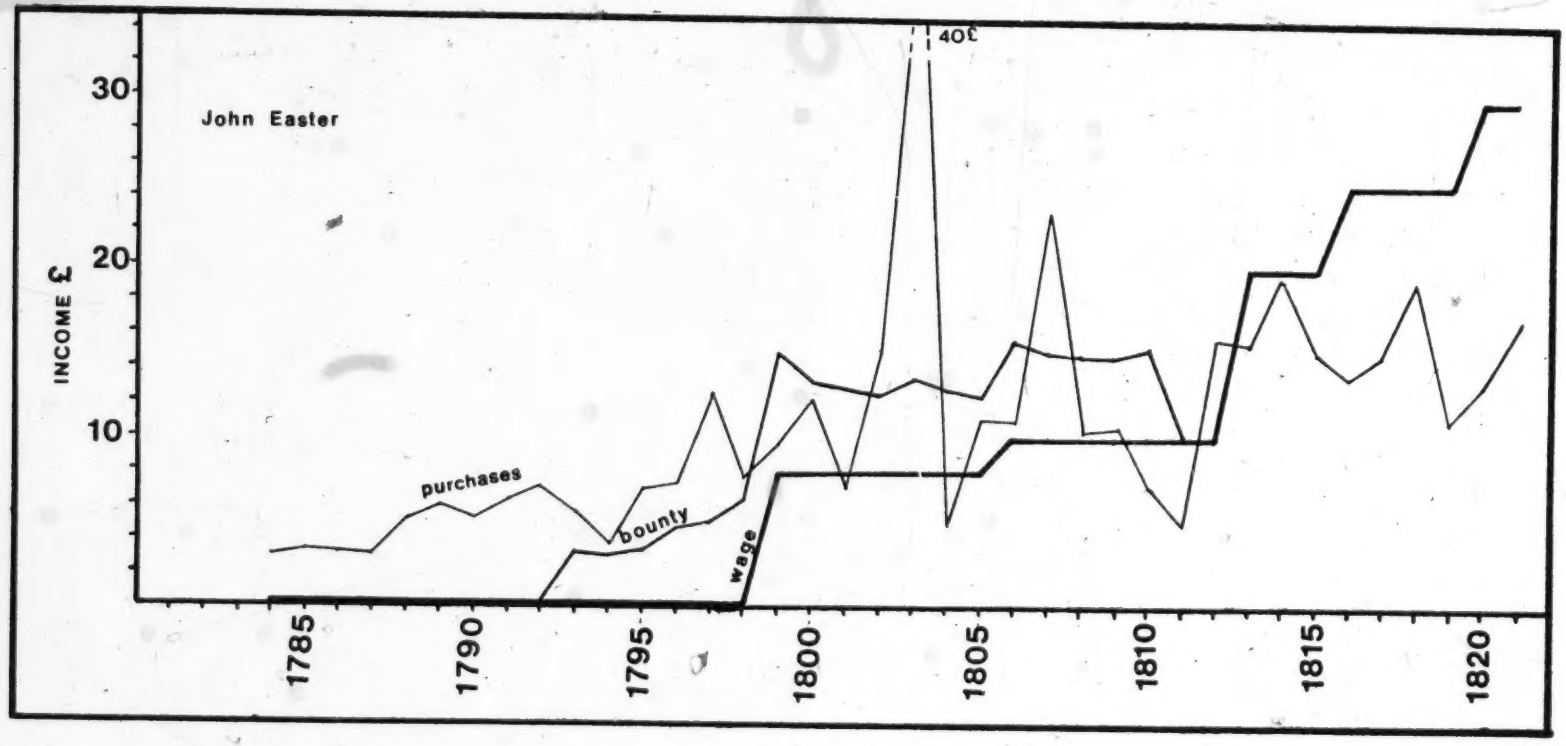


Figure 10 The Salary Profile of John Easter
HBCA, PAM, A.16/5/74
A.16/6/42
A.16/7/21
A.16/25/31
A.16/26/22
A.16/37/63

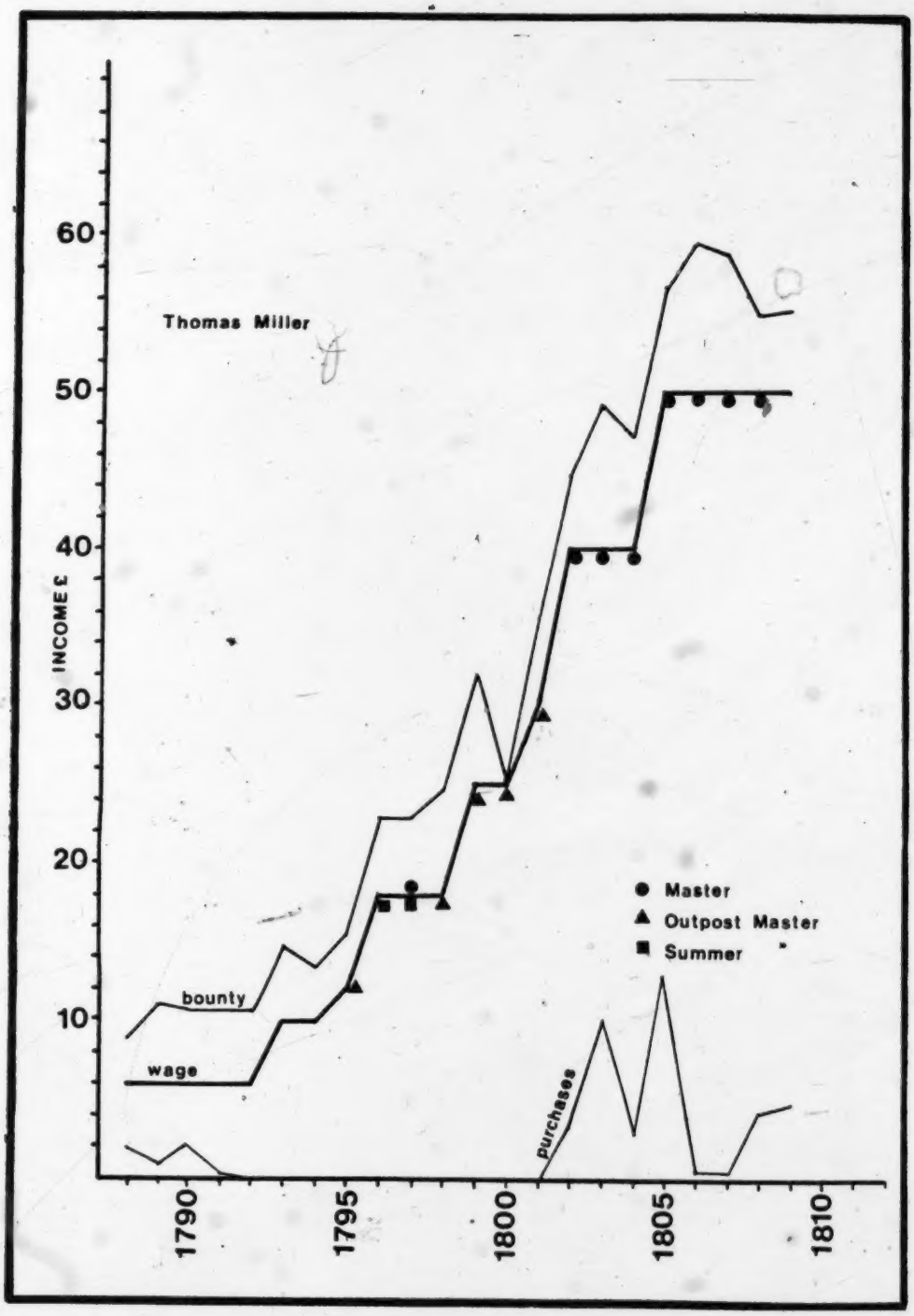


Figure 11 The Salary Profile of Thomas Miller
HBCA, PAM, A.16/5/104
A.16/6/54,135
A.16/7/83

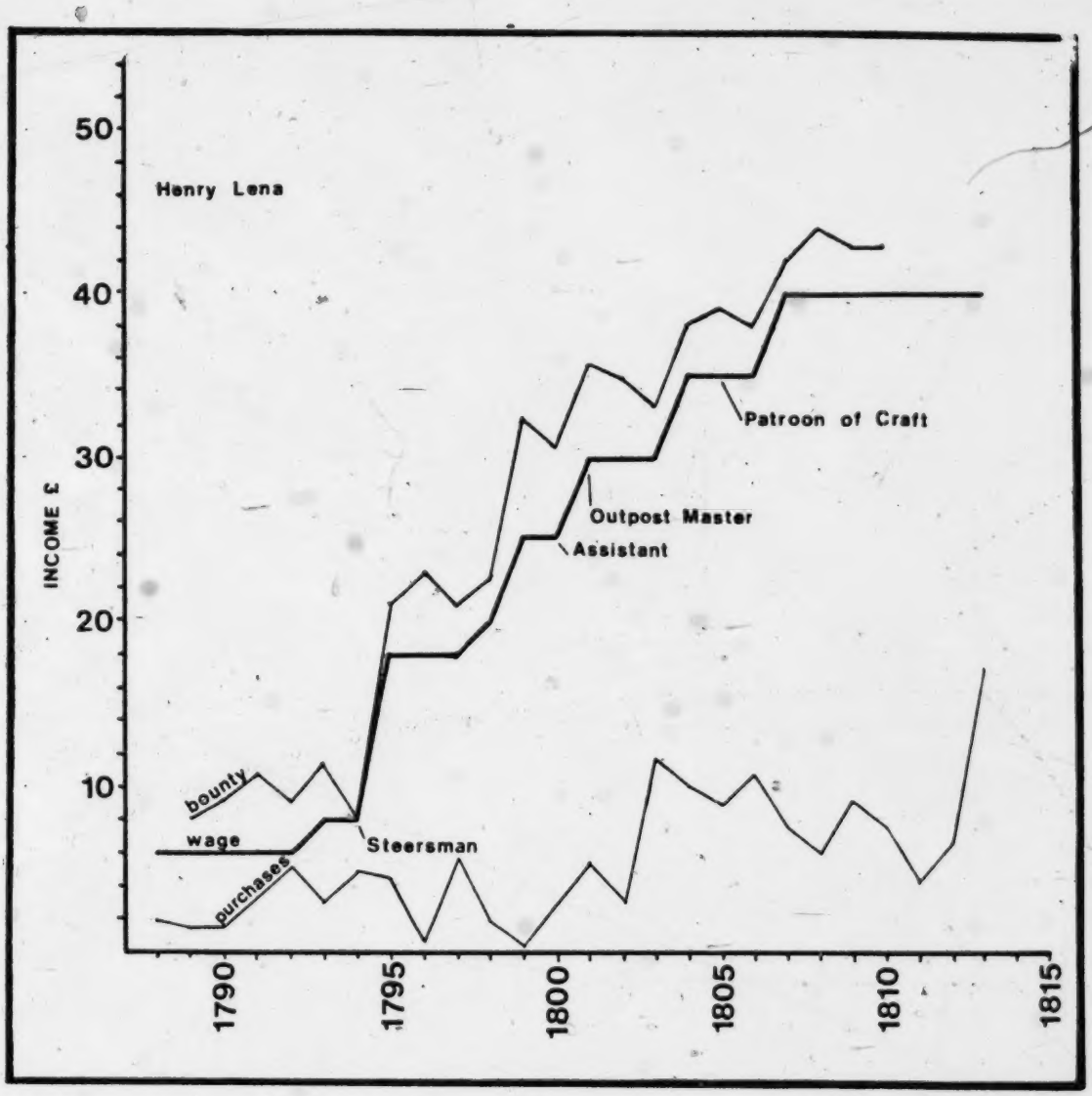


Figure 12 The Salary Profile of Henry Lena.
HBCA, PAM, A.16/5/98
A.16/6/50,142
A.16/7/84

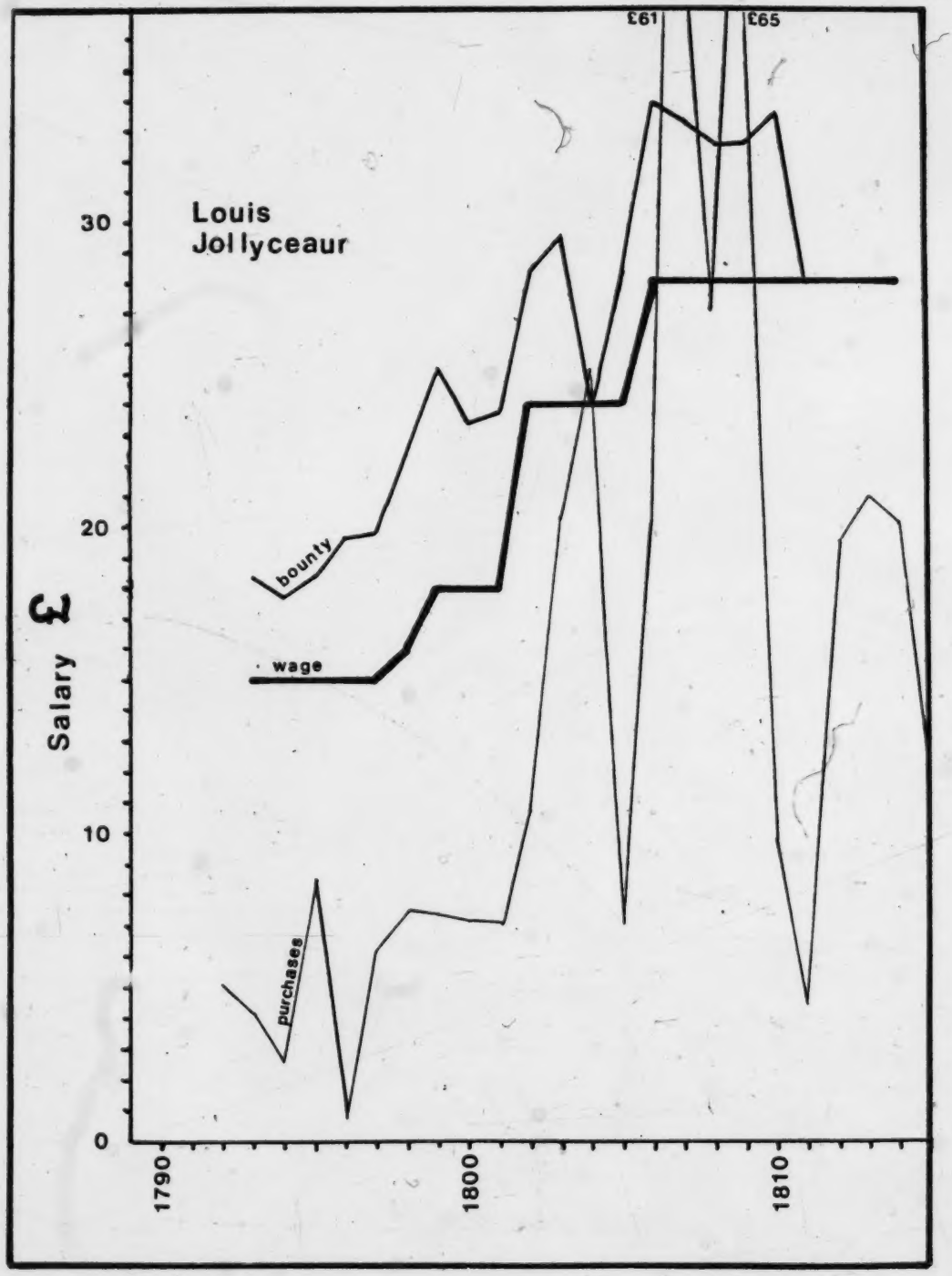


Figure 13 The Salary Profile of Louis Jollycoeur
HBCA, PAM, A.16/6/49
A.16/7/2,98
A.16/25/30
A.16/26/17

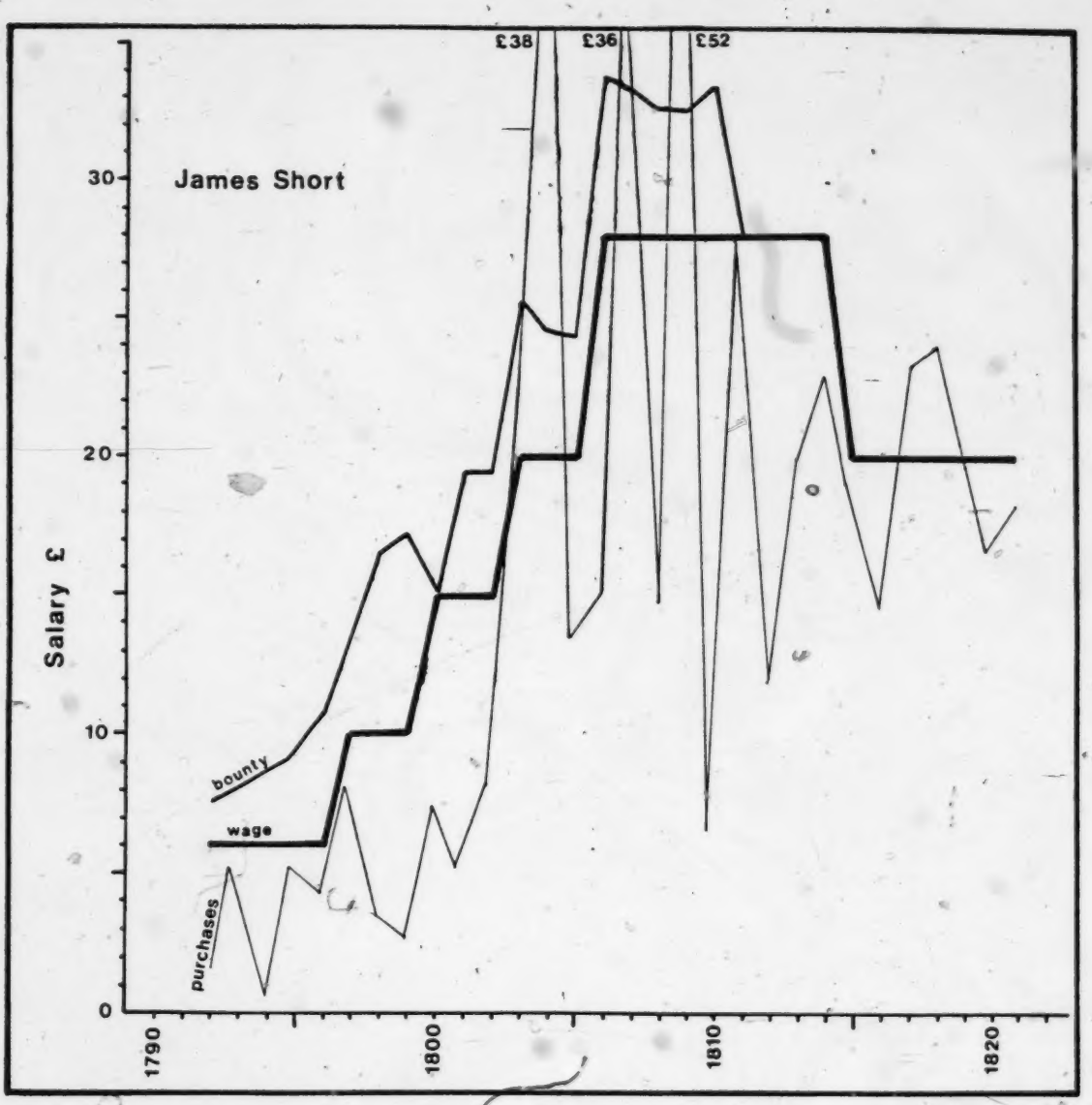


Figure 14 The Salary Profile of James Short.
HBCA, PAM, A.16/6/4,143
A.16/7/113
A.16/25/43
A.16/26/74
A.16/37/371

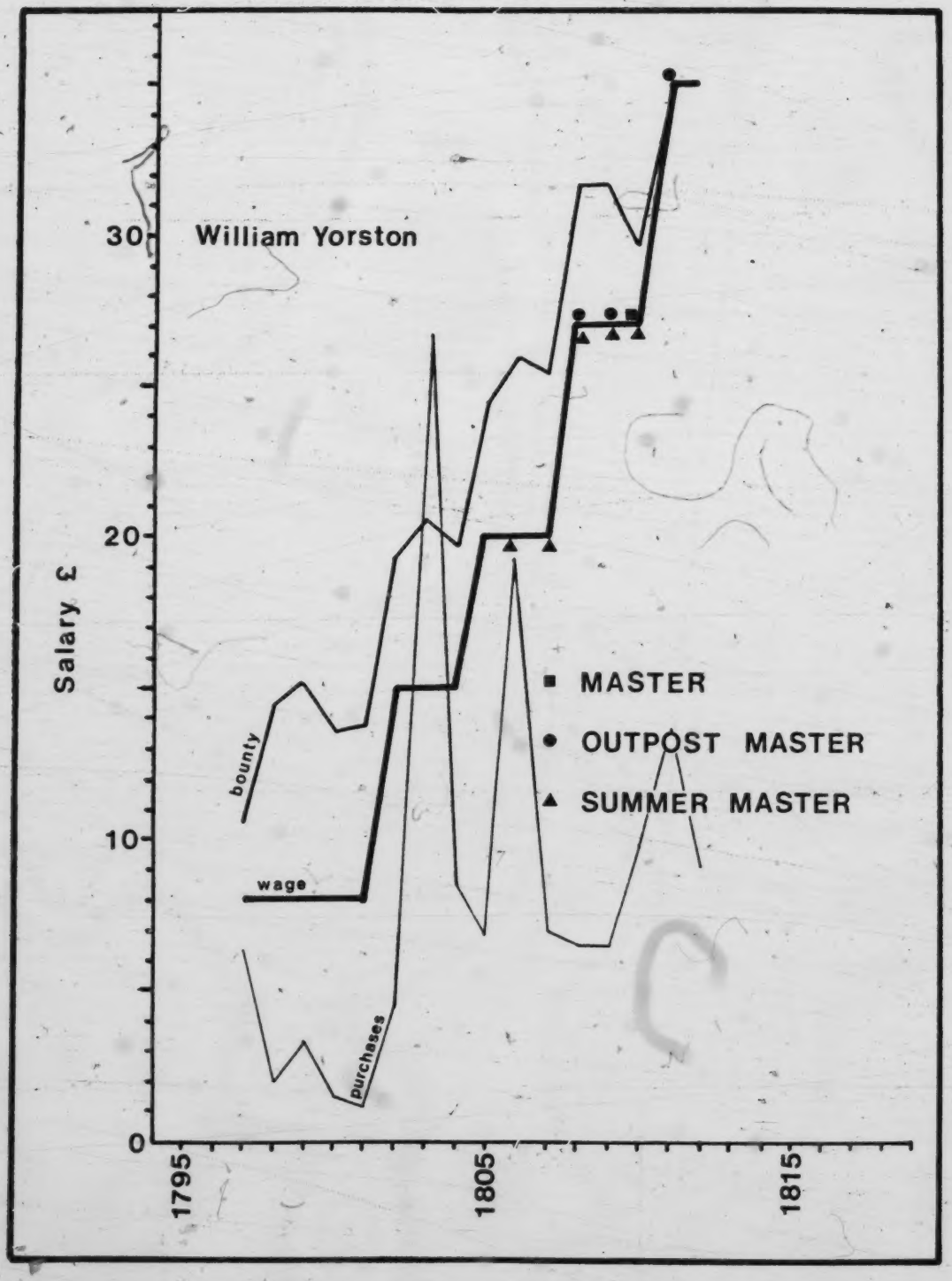


Figure 15 The Salary Profile of William Yorston
HBCA, PAM, A.16/6/97
A.16/7/32
A.16/25/45,86

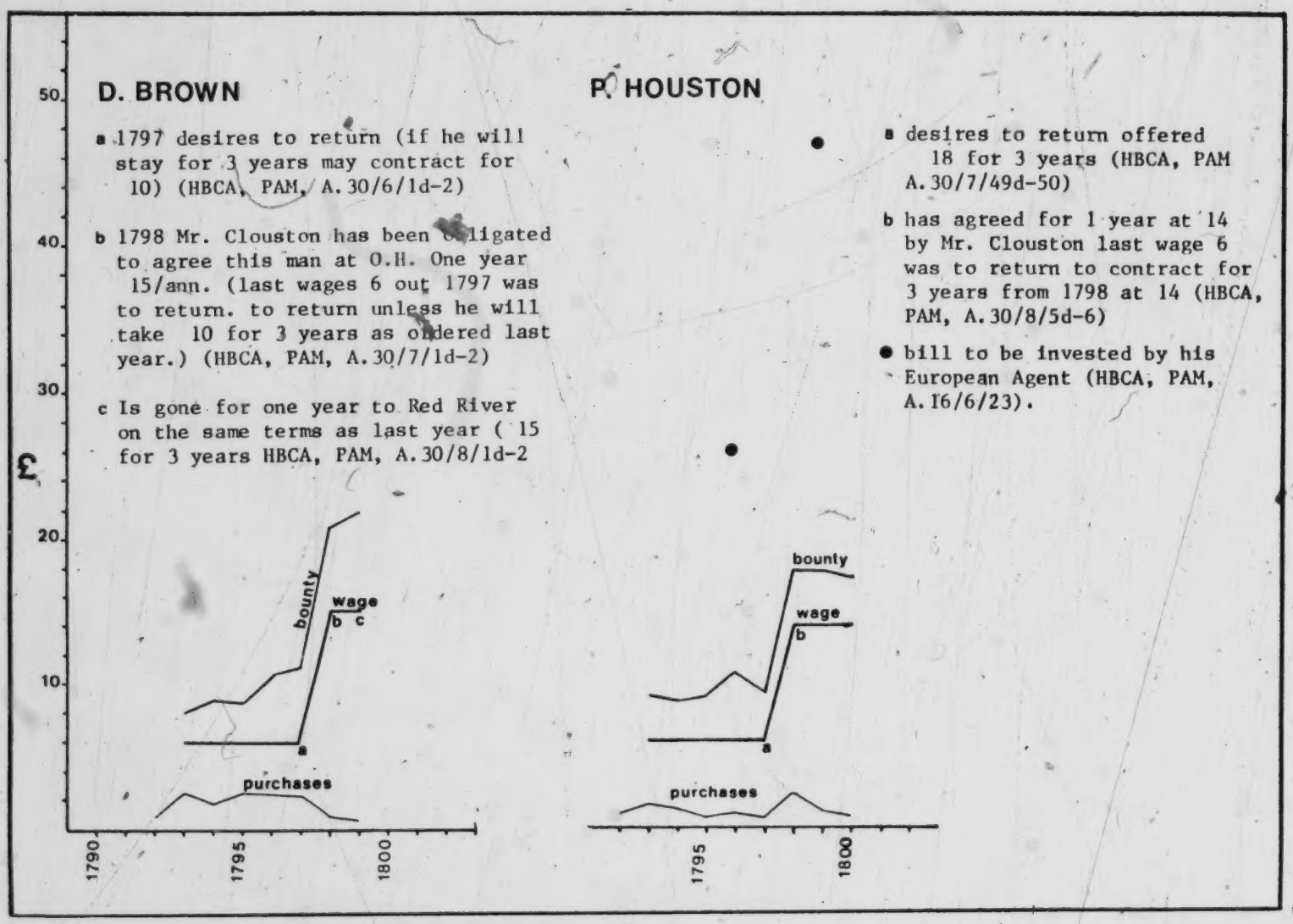

D. BROWN
P. HOUSTON
a 1797 desires to return (if he will stay for 3 years may contract for 10) (HBCA, PAM, A.30/6/1d-2)
b 1798 Mr. Clouston has been obligated to agree this man at O.H. One year 15/ann. (last wages 6 out 1797 was to return. to return unless he will take 10 for 3 years as ordered last year.) (HBCA, PAM, A.30/7/1d-2)
c Is gone for one year to Red River on the same terms as last year (15 for 3 years HBCA, PAM, A.30/8/1d-2
a desires to return offered 18 for 3 years (HBCA, PAM A.30/7/49d-50)
b has agreed for 1 year at 14 by Mr. Clouston last wage 6 was to return to contract for 3 years from 1798 at 14 (HBCA, PAM, A.30/8/5d-6)
● bill to be invested by his European Agent (HBCA, PAM, A.16/6/23).
£
50
40
30
20
10
bounty
wage
b c
a
purchases
1790
1795
1800
bounty
wage
b
a
purchases
1795
1800

Figure 16 Career Planning of Short Term Orcadian Labourers
HBCA, PAM, A.16/6/23,132,157

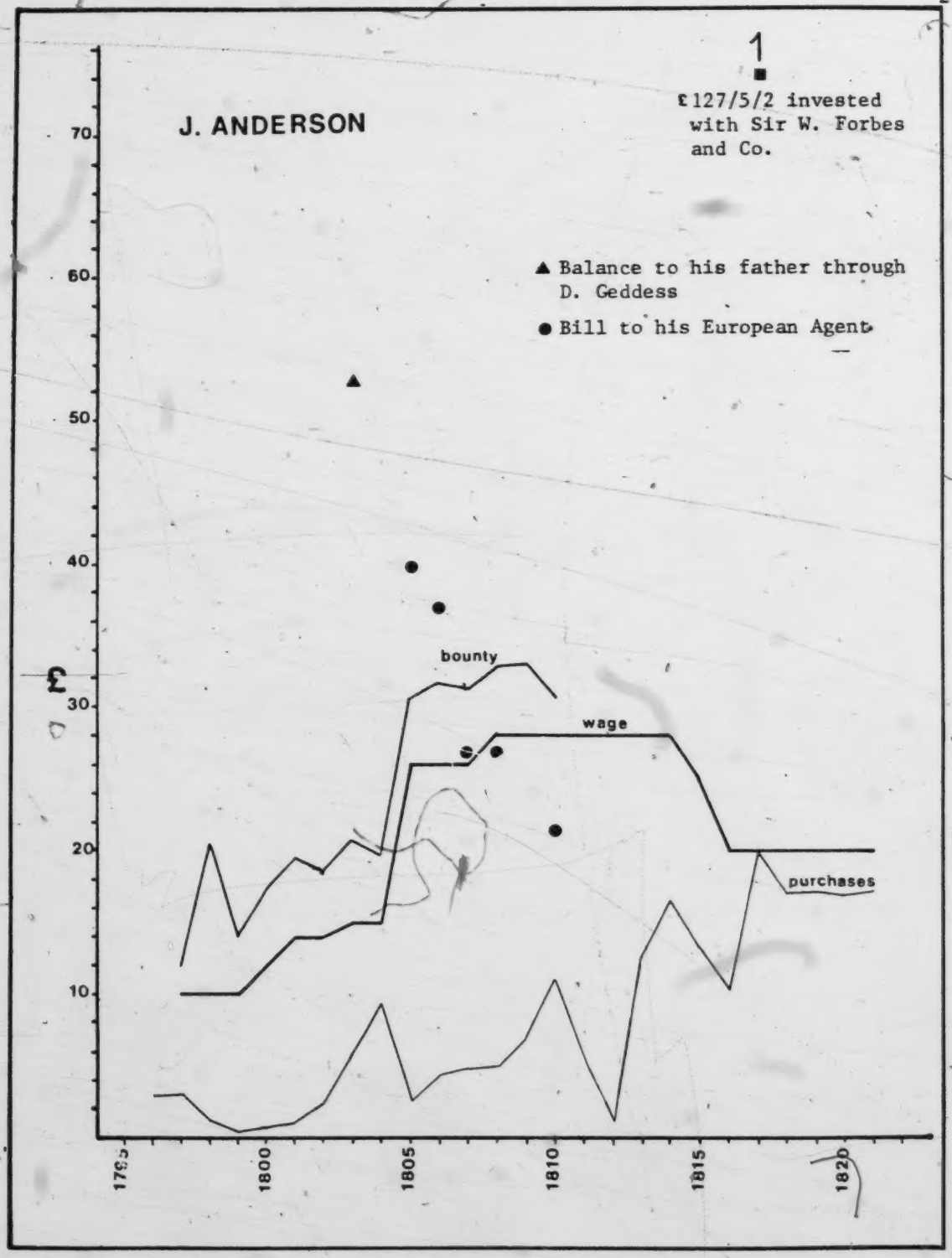


Figure 17 Career Planning of Long Term Orcadian Employees
HBCA, PAM, A.16/6/93 A.16/26/2
A.16/7/41 A.16/37/1
A.16/25/27

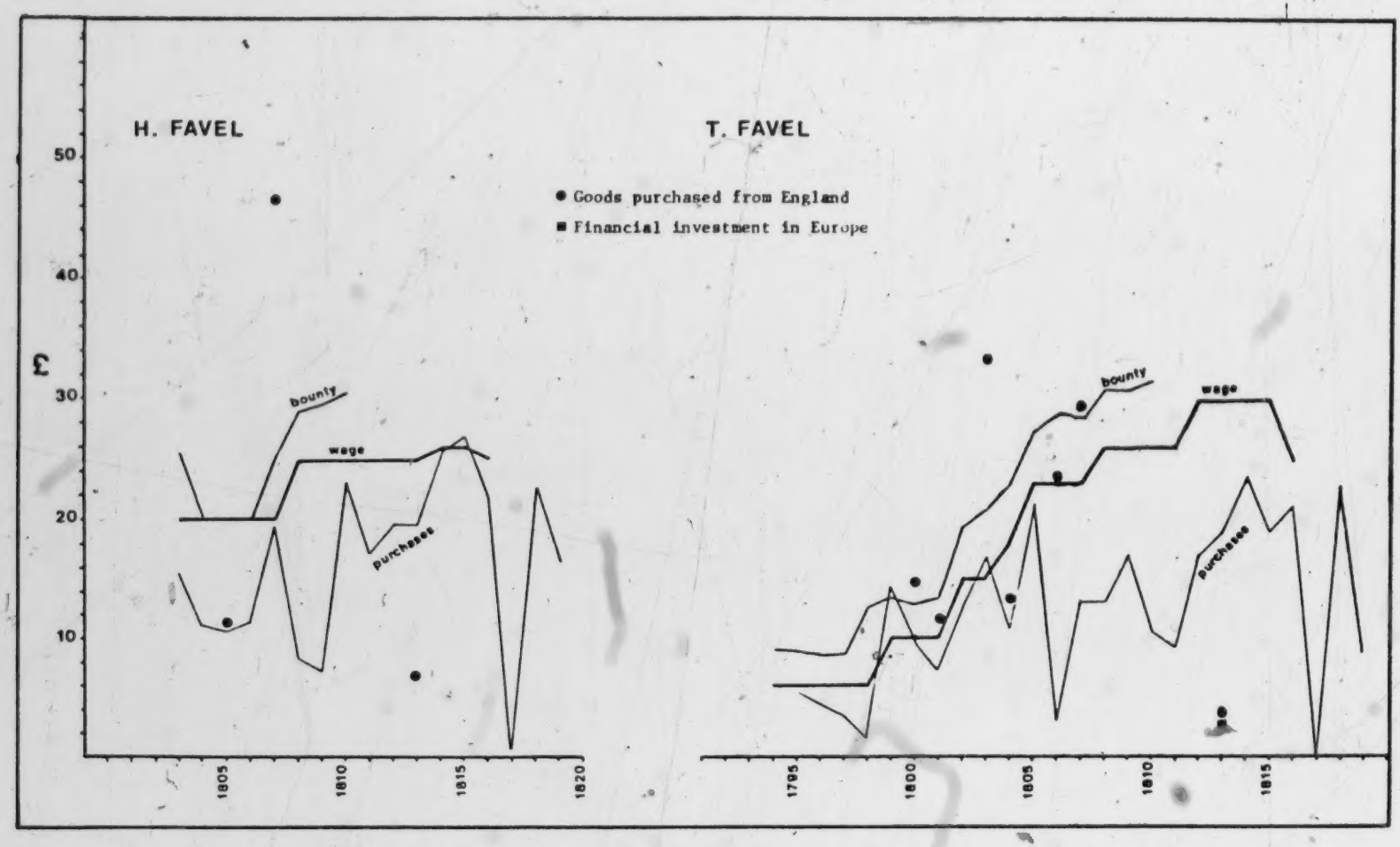


Figure 18 The Career Planning of Country Born Labourers.
HBCA, PAM, A.16/6/87
A.16/7/16,22,111
A.16/25/32,33
A.16/26/23,25
A.16/37/107,108

Table 1 Employment Categories and Salary Ranges
HBCA, PAM, A.30/5/86d-87

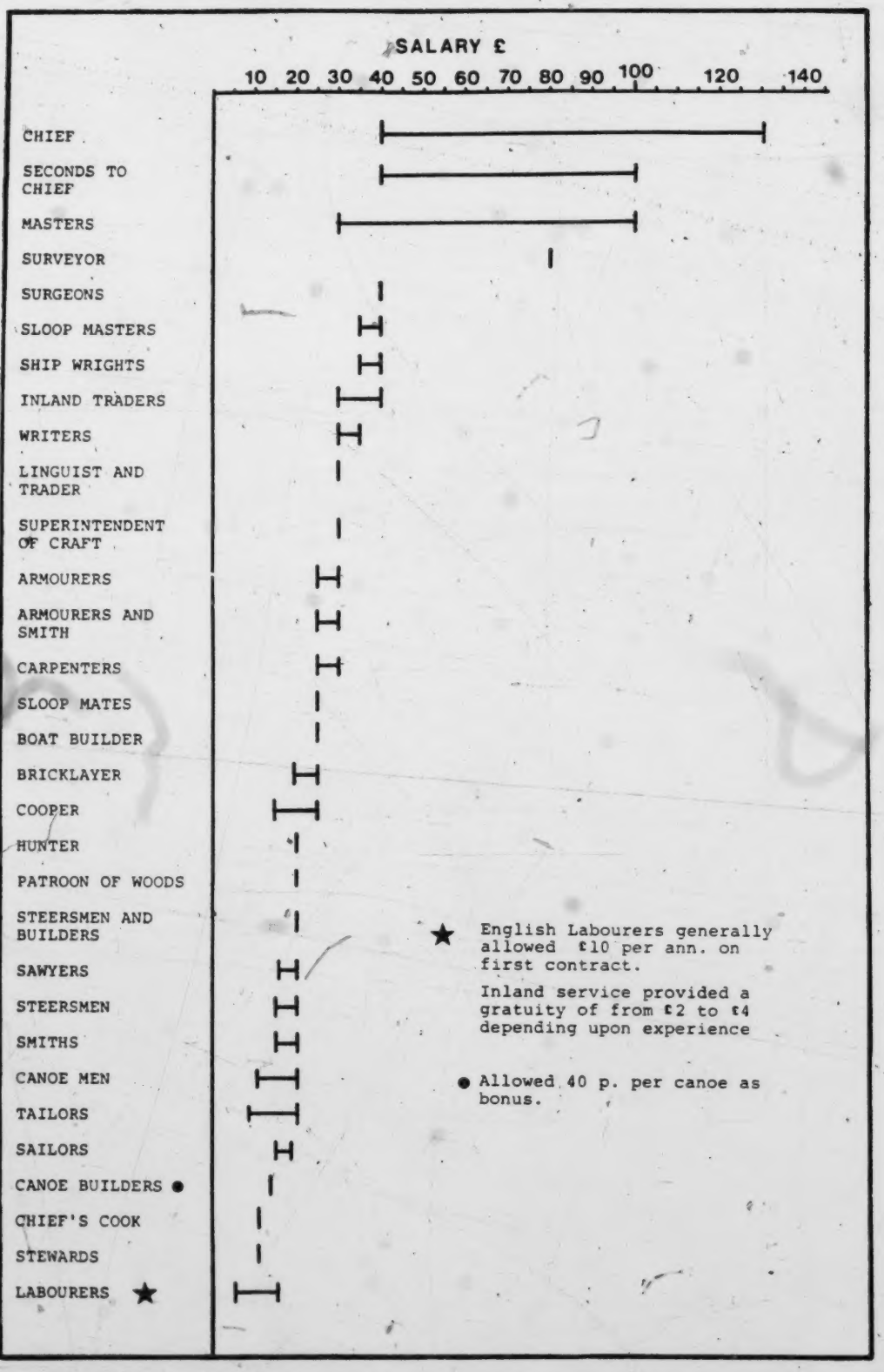


Table 2 The Brandon House Workforce during the 1793-94 Trade Season.

No. of senior labourers	% of total labourers	No. of junior labourers	% of total labourers	Junior labourers with 1 or more winters inland	Junior labourers on first winter inland
6	35%	11	65%	3	8

Table 3 The Statement of Accounts for Brandon House during the 1794-95 Season

ACCOUNTS 1794-95
HBCA, PAM, B.3/D/105/661-680

ITEM	GENERAL CHARGE	MEN'S DEBTS	EXPENSES	TRADE	REMAINS
BAIZES YD	30	17.75	6	6.25	0
BAYONETS NO	155		6	76	73
BEADS COMMON LB	131		20	71.25	39.5
PRIME LB	16		3	12	1
BELLS HAWK PR.	100		7		101
BLADES AWL NO.	456		354		102
SWORD NO.	36			20	16
BLANKETS 3 PT NO.	34		3	28	3
2.5 PT	66		4	61	3
2 PT	20		3	16	1
1.5 PT	46		4	32	10
1 PT	44		5	28	11
STRIPPED	44	8	4	25	7
BOARS EGG NO.	54		15	17	22
TOBACCO JAP'D	27		13		14
BURR	11				11
BRANDY GAL	906.0	29.75	412	402	62
BUTTONS CHOCT	8	.92	5.08		2
CALICO PRINTED YD	32			32	
CHISEL ICE NO.	60		2	53	5
CLOTH COMMON YD	1220	56.5	451	311	402
FINE YD	43		6	35	2
COMBS NO	138	8	10	90	30
DUFFLE YD	24.5	2	6	13.5	3
FEATHERS NO	30		20		10
FILES NO	90		6	71	13
FLANNEL YD	25	12	4	9	
FLINTS NO.	4000		1320	1220	1480
GARTERING YD	2736		1460	700	576
GIN ENGLISH GAL	6		3	3	
GLASS BURNING NO.	122	1	40	51	30
OVAL GILT	11	1	4	5	1
GUN 3.5 FT.	64	2	2	50	11
3 FT.	43		3	32	8
HANDKERCHIEF SILK	18	2	3	13	
COLOURED	32		13		19
HATCHETS	227		4	177	46
HATS LACED	12		11		1
PLAIN	21	18	2		1
HOOKS, FISH	200		16		184
KETTLES BRASS LB	273		20	160.5	92.5
COPPER 1	14		2	11	1
2	14		2	8	4
3	14		3	9	2
4	14		2	9	3
5	14		1	5	8
6	8		1	2	5
7	3		1	1	1
8	3			1	2
9	4				4
KNIVES BONE HDL	36		12	6	18
BRASS	168		130	6	32
CLASP	102	23	32	26	21
ROACH	1261		800	329	132
LACE GRRIS YD	976		512		464
SILK COVERED	237		225		12
WORSTED	864		460		404
LINES NET NO	18		4	14	
LINEN PRINTED YD	18	6.5	4	7.5	
NEEDLES NO	1200		622		578
NICCOTOUGANS	6				6
POWDER GUN, LB	1165		500	401	264
RAZORS NO	21	3			18
RINGS EAR NO	16		5		11
FINGER	324		209		115
SASHES	22		11		11
SCISSORS	15		3		12
SCRAPERS	6		4		2
SERGE YD	23	9.5	13.5		
SHIRTS ADULT	25		2	17	6
BOYS	9		1	3	5
INFANTS	21		5	15	1
YOUTHS	21		2	11	8
CHECKED	12		2	10	
COTTON	48	17	2	29	
WHITE	30	4	6	20	
RUFFLED	28		5	20	3
SHOES	29	7	4	18	
SHOT LB	2270		1500	365	405
SPOONS LB	12		3		9
STEELS	228		163		65
STOCKINGS WORSTED	7	1	2		4
WOLLEN	5		5		
YARN	13		5		8
THREAD LB	11	.35	4.81	2	4
TOBACCO BRAZIL LB	1520		300	734	486
CUT	9	6		3	
TRUNKS	2		1		1
TWINE SEINING	184	35	18	114	37
VERMILLION OZ	96		36		60
WORMS, GUN	144		103		41

Table 4 The Risks and Problems encountered through the Mandan Trade.

TRADE SEASON	FREEMEN EQUIPPED BY H.B.C.	H.B.C. MEN WITH FREEMEN GUIDES	H.B.C. PARTY	PROBLEMS							REFERENCE
				COMPETITION	WARFARE	DEATH	PILLAGED	WEATHER	MEN REFUSED THE TRIP	OTHER	
1795-96	1	1						1			HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/3/1,8,15d
1796-97			1	1						1	B.22/a/4/14,16,28d
1797-98		2									B.22/a/5/18,26d,27
1798-99	1	1									B.22/a/6/3,16,36d,37
1799-1800	2	2									B.22/a/7/3,4,10,12,19,24
1800-01			2		1						B.22/a/8/3d,5,6d,7d,12d
1801-02			1		3		1		1		B.22/a/9/1,3,8d,9,12d,13,14d,15,18d
1802-03			1		1						B.22/a/10/5,8d
1803-04	1		1								B.22/a/11/3,5,5d,11
1804-05	1		1	1		1	1		1		B.22/a/12/6d,7,8d,9d,10,10d,11d
1805-06	1		1								B.22/a/13/10,12,15
1806-07			1				1				B.22/a/14/8d,9,14d,15
1807-08	1					1					B.22/a/15/5,9,12d
1808-09	1										B.22/a/16/5,6d
1809-10			1	1							B.22/a/17/6d,12,12d
1810-11											
1811-12			1	1					1		B.22/a/18b/6d,7,7d,8,12

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APPENDIX 1

A.....Name

B.....Ethnicity

Orc.....Orcadian	C B.....Country Born
Nat.....Native	Scot....Scottish
Irish	Engl....English
A Can...Anglo Canadian	F Can...French Canadian
Other	

C.....Salary (Pounds Sterling)

D.....Bounty (" ")

E.....Year in the Service

F.....Total years in the Service

G.....Years served in Red River

I.....Trade Related Duties

1...Master	2...Outpost Master
3...Trade Related	4...Summer Master
5...Trade Trip	6...Mandan Trader
7...Traveller	

J.....Tradesmen

1...Cooper	2...Tailor
3...Blacksmith	4...Carpenter/ General Const.
5...Boat Builder	6...Pit Saw

K.....Country Skilled Work

1...Interpreter	2...Hunter
3...Fisherman	4...Boatsteerer
5...Bowsman	
6...Miscellaneous Mfg. (Net, sugar, canoe, pemmican, snowshoe, mfg., bark lifting, meat drying)	
7...Logging	8...Lookout/ Scout
9...Horse guard	10...Live with Indians

L.....Other Work

1...Miscellaneous Mfg. (Ammunition, soap, candle, powder horn, harness and oar mfg.)
2...Cook
3...Servant
4...Potash, Lime, and Charcoal kiln tending
5...Agricultural work (Gardening/ Haying)
6...Firewood Cutter
7...General Maintenance
8...General Domestic Chores

* Work Party Leader.

Table 5 The 1793-94 Work Hierarchy (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/1)

NAME	B	C	D	E	F	G	I1	I2	I3	I4	I5	J4	J5	J6	K2	K3	K4	K6	M1	M2	M3
HIERARCHY 1793-94																					
MASTER																					
MCKAY, DONALD	A CAN	100	2	3	8	1	1		6						12						
ASSISTANT																					
SUTHERLAND, JOHN	SCOT	25	4.88	17	35	1		1	3	1	1				1		1			2	
SENIOR LABOURER																					
RICHARDS, JOHN	C B	18	3.09	8	14	1					7	1	4		2	1	1		1	2	
YORSTON, JAMES	ORC	10	2.37	8	18	1											4	1	2		
BROWN, JAMES	ORC	10	4.76	8	11	1					1			4					1		1
HOUTITT, WILLIAM	ORC	10	3.44	7	8	1								7						2	2
TAYLOR, ANDREW	ORC	10	2.36	7	8	1					1								2		
EASTER, JOHN	NAT		3.44	9	37	1					1										
TRADESMAN																					
CLAIT, MAGNUS	ORC	8	4	3	5	1															
JUNIOR LABOURER																					
JOLLYCOEUR, LOUIS	F CAN	15	3.44	2	11	1					2								2		1
ELNSON, ROBERT	ORC	6	3.5	2	5	1					1			4							
TAYLOR, ROBERT	ORC	6	3.19	3	5	1								14						3	1
BROWN, DAVID	ORC	6	4.76	2	7	1					1								1		
SLATTER, JAMES SR.	ORC	6	2.5	2	20	1					2				2						1
ANDERSON, JOHN	ORC	6	2.73	2	14	1					4										
CORRIGAL, WILLIAM	ORC	6	3.5	2	5	1														6	
HOUSTON, PETER	ORC	6	3	2	8	1												1			
MAUR, JAMES	ORC	6	3.09	3	14	1														3	
KIRKNESS, WILLIAM	ORC	6	3.5	2	6	1					1									1	
YORSTON, MAGNUS	ORC	6		2	12	1	1													3	1

Table 6 The 1794-95 Work Hierarchy (HBCA, PAM, B/22/a/2)

NAME	B	C	D	E	F	G	I1	I2	I3	I4	I5	I6	I7	J1	J2	J4	J5	J6	K1	K2	K4	K7	K8	K9	L2	L3	L6
HIERARCHY 1794-95																											
MASTER																											
GOODWIN, ROBERT	ENGL	60	7.95	13	23	1	1																				
ASSISTANT																											
SUTHERLAND, JOHN	SCOT	40	4.98	18	35	2		1		1																	
SENIOR LABOURER																											
RICHARDS, JOHN	C B	25	3.49	9	14	2					2		2			1				16							
LINKLATER, JOHN	ORC	20	3.49	11	15	1		1	1				1														
SPENCE, DAVID	ORC	18	3.49	11	28	1					2					2											3
BROWN, JAMES	ORC	12	3.49	9	11	2					3					2			1						1	8	
LOUTTIT, WILLIAM	ORC	12	3.49	8	8	2							1														
TAYLOR, ANDREW	ORC	12	3.49	8	8	2							1														
YORSTON, JAMES	ORC	12	3.49	9	18	2							1														
SCARTH, JOHN	ORC	8	3.49	6	22	1					2		4		6												
FLANS, MAGNUS	ORC	8	3.49	6	10	1																			9		2
EASTER, JOHN	NAT	0	3.49	10	37	2														1							
TRADESMEN																											
CLAIT, MAGNUS	ORC	8	3.49	4	5	2					2				9												
JUNIOR LABOURER																											
JOLLYCOEUR, LOUIS	F CAN	15	3.49	3	15	2							6										1				
RICHARDS, THOMAS	C B	8	3.49	1	10	1							2						1		1		1				
FINLON, ROBERT	ORC	6	3.49	3	5	2					1		2	6		1											
JOHNSTONE, JAMES	ORC	6	3.49	3	8	1								2		11	2										
WICK, JAMES	ORC	6	3.49	3	10	1																					
SLATTER, JAMES SR	ORC	6	3.49	3	20	2					2		3							6							
MERRIMAN, JOHN	ORC	6	3.49	2	9	1					2		2			1	1								3		1
BROWN, DAVID	ORC	6	3.49	4	7	2					3		3									2		1		1	1
TAYLOR, ROBERT	ORC	6	3.49	4	5	2							1														
TOWERS, ALEX	ORC	6	3.49	3	5	1							7														
GROUNDWATER, MAGNUS	ORC	6	3.49	5	6	1							4														
CORRIGAL, WILLIAM	ORC	6	3.49	3	5	2							3									2					
HENSTONE, PETER	ORC	6	3.49	3	8	2							1														1
KIRKNESS, WILLIAM	ORC	6	3.49	3	6	2							1														
ANDERSON, JOHN	ORC	6	3.49	3	10	2																					
CORSTON, JOHN	ORC	6	3.49	2	4	1							3												1		2
LINKLATER, HUGH	C B	6	3.49	1	18	1							3														1
MOORE, JAMES	ORC	6	2.61	4	14	2							4												6		2
TULLOCK, WILLIAM	ORC	6	3.49	2	10	1							1														
YORSTON, MAGNUS	ORC	6	3.49	3	12	2							1														

Table 7 The 1795-96 Work Hierarchy (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/3)

NAME	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I2	I4	I5	I6	I7	J1	J2	J4	J5	J6	K2	K6	K7	K9	L3	L2	L3	L6	L7
HIERARCHY 1795-96																										
MASTER																										
GOODMAN, ROBERT	ENG.	70	12.6	14	23	2	1																			
ASSISTANT																										
SUTHERLAND, JOHN	ORC	40	7.28	19	35	3		1																		
SENIOR LABOURER																										
LINKLATER, JOHN	ORC	20	4.64	12	15	2		1					4							1						
MILLER, THOMAS	ORC	18	4.64	9	22	1		1	1		2*									2				5		
BROWN, JAMES	ORC	18	4.64	10	11	3				5			1			1						1				2
LENA, HENRY	ORC	18	4.64	9	26	1										3	1		5							
SPENCE, DAVID	ORC	18	4.64	12	28	2							4			1		4		2			2			
THURSTONE, JAMES	ORC	18	4.64	10	18	3																			2	
SCARTH, JOHN	ORC	8	4.64	7	22	2							1		4											
BAXTER, JOHN	MAT		4.64	11	37	3				2									14							
TRADESMEN																										
WATSON, JAMES	ORC	20	4.64	4	5	1																				
CLAIT, NICHOLAS	ORC	8	4.64	5	5	3				2					5					1						
JUNIOR LABOURER																										
JOLLYCOEUR, LOUIS	F CAN	15	4.64	4	17	3																				
RICHARDS, THOMAS	C B	8	4.64	2	10	2																				1
BURGUN, ROBERT	ORC	6	4.64	4	5	3				1			2	9		1	1									
SLATTER, JAMES SR	ORC	6	4.64	4	20	3					2		1			1			1	1					3	
WIRK, JAMES	ORC	6	4.64	4	10	2							3		1	1		4		1						
BROWN, DAVID	ORC	6	4.64	4	7	3				2			1						5	1					1	
ROBINSON, ROBERT	ORC	6	4.64	3	13	1					1		1			1					1					1
LINKLATER, HUGH	C B	6	4.64	2	18	2				1			5						1			1			2	
TWAIT, ROBERT	?		?			1				1			3			2			5	1						1
GRUNDWATER, NICHOLAS	ORC	6	4.64	6	6	2				1			5			1			1		1				1	
SHORT, JAMES	ORC	6	4.64	5	30	1				2			1			1			2						1	3
TAYLOR, ROBERT	ORC	6	4.64	5	5	3										1										
ANDERSON, JOHN	ORC	6	4.64	4	14	3							6													
CORRIGAL, WILLIAM	ORC	6	2.89	4	5	3				2			2			1			1	1		1			1	5
HAMSTONE, PETER	ORC	6	4.64	4	8	3														1					2	1
JOHNSTONE, JOSEPH	ORC	6	4.64	4	8	1							2											6		1
JOHNSON, NICHOLAS	ORC	6	4.64	4	5	1							1									1			2	
KINNESS, WILLIAM	ORC	6	4.64	4	6	3							3									2		9		
MOORE, JAMES STOCK.	ORC	6	4.64	4	10	?							1													
TAMERS, ALEX	ORC	6	4.64	4	5	2																				
KURSTON, NICHOLAS	ORC	6	4.64	4	12	3																				
CURSTON, JOHN	ORC	6		3	4	2																				
GUN, ROBERT	ORC	6	4.64	3	10	1							9													
KNIGHT, NICHOLAS	ORC	6	4.64	3	11	1							2													
LOUTTIT, WILLIAM	ORC	6	4.64	3	13	1							6			1			1	1			1			2
MORTIMAR, JOHN	ORC	6	4.64	3	9	2																				
SINCLAIR, JAMES	ORC	6	4.64	3	11	1																1			2	
TULLOCK, WILLIAM	ORC	6	4.64	3	10	2							1													
FOLSTER, JAMES	ORC	6	4.64	2	5	1																				
GRUNDWATER, ALEX			?			1							1													
HALERO, WILLIAM			?			1							1							1						
HENDERSON, JACOB			?			1							3													

Table 8 The 1796-97 Work Hierarchy (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/4)

NAME	B	C	D	E	F	G	I1	I2	I3	I4	I5	I6	I7	J1	J4	J5	K2	K4	K6	L1	L5
HIERARCHY 1796-97																					
MASTER																					
SUTHERLAND, JAMES	ORC	70	13.6	26	26	1	1														
ASSISTANT																					
SUTHERLAND, JOHN	ORC	40	7.78	20	34	4		1	1												
SENIOR LABOURER																					
MILLER, THOMAS	ORC	18	4.89	10	22	2	1			1	4										2
BROWN, JAMES	ORC	18	4.89	11	11	4												1			
YORSTON, JAMES	ORC	18	4.89	11	18	4					2	1	1		2						
TAYLOR, WILLIAM	ORC	15	4.89	7	8	1					1		2								
EASTER, JOHN	NAT		4.89	12	37	4			1		4				3	1	12		1		
TRADESMEN																					
JOHNSTONE, JAMES	ORC	20	3.81	6	8	2															
WATSON, JAMES	ORC	20	4.89	5	5	2			1		1		1	17	2						
JUNIOR LABOURER																					
JOLLYCOEUR, LOUIS	F CAN	15	4.89	5	17	4															
MCDONELL, ANGUS	A CAN	10	4.89	1	6	1											1				
RICHARDS, THOMAS	C B	8	4.89	3	10	3					2					1	9		1		
SLATTER, JAMES SR	ORC	6	4.89	5	20	4					2	1					19			2	1
BROWN, DAVID	ORC	6	4.89	5	7	4															
LINKLATER, HUGH	C B	6	4.89	3	18	3															
YORSTON, MAGNUS	ORC	6	4.89	5	12	4					1		2				1				
WORK, JAMES	ORC	6	4.89	5	10	3					1										
MOAR, JAMES STROM.	ORC	6	4.89	5	10	2					1						5			2	1
JOHNSON, MAGNUS	ORC	6	4.89	5	5	2					1		2				2			2	1
GUN, ROBERT	ORC	6	4.89	4	10	2												1			
JOHNSTONE, JOSEPH	ORC	6	4.89	5	8	2					1			1							
MAINLAND, THOMAS	ORC	6	4.89	5	14	1							1								
TOWERS, ALEX	ORC	6	4.89	5	5	3							3								
HENDERSON, JACOB	ORC	?				2							1	1						2	1
FOWLES, WILLIAM	ORC	6	4.89	5	7	1							1								
MERRIMAN, JOHN	ORC	6	4.89	4	9	3															
LOUITIT, WILLIAM	ORC	6	4.89	4	13	2							1	1						2	1
ROBINSON, ROBERT	ORC	6	4.89	4	13	2					1		2								
SINCLAIR, JAMES	ORC	6	4.89	4	11	2							2								
WIST, JAMES	ORC	?				1															

Table 9 The 1797-98 Work Hierarchy (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/5)

NAME	B	C	D	E	F	G	I1	I2	I3	I4	I5	I6	I7	J1	J2	J4	J6	K2	K6	K9	K10	L1	L2	L3	L5	L6
HIERARCHY 1797-98																										
MASTER																										
MCKAY, JOHN	A CAN	70	19.2	8	20	1	1		1									1								
ASSISTANT																										
SUTHERLAND, JOHN	ORC	50	6.29	21	35	5		1																		
RICETTE	F CAN	50																								
SENIOR LABOURER																										
RICHARDS, JOHN	C B	30		13	14	3		1																		
NORN, THOMAS	ORC	20	5.29	10	25	1																			1	
MILLER, THOMAS	ORC	18	6.29	11	23	3		1	1	1																
SLATTER, JAMES SR	ORC	14	3.81	6	20	5					1	2*	1			1		7	1	1						
HLETT, HUGH	ORC	18	6.29	6	7	1							1							1			1		1	3
JOLLYBLEUR, LOUIS	F CAN	16	6.29	6	17	5							9	1				2								
ANDERSON, JOHN	ORC	16	6.29	13	17	1					1															
TAYLOR, WILLIAM	ORC	15	6.29	7	7	2													1	1						
BANKS, WILLIAM	ORC	18	4.48	8	9	1																				
HAAS, MAGNUS	ORC	12	6.29	8	9	1							1													
MUNRY, MAGNUS	ORC	12	6.29	8	15	1																	1	1	2	1
SABBISTON, GEORGE	ORC	12	6.29	6	9	1					3		1			1		1								
FIDLER, JOHN	ORC	10	6.29	6	11	1																				
GROUNDWATER, GEORGE	ORC	10	6.29	6	18	1																				
SHORT, JAMES	ORC	10	6.29	7	30	1					3	1	1				2	1	2							
EASTER, JOHN	NAT	8	6.29	13	37	5																				
TRADESMEN																										
INNISTER, JAMES	ORC	20	6.29	2	25	1					2		1	2		2	2		3			1				1
CHRISTIAN, JOHN	ORC	15	6.29	2	3	1						2						1	1							
ANDERSON, JAMES	ORC	10	10.6	2	25	1					2		3		4										1	
JUNIOR LABOURER																										
RICHARDS, THOMAS	C B	12	6.29	4	10	4					8							17	2	1						
LYONS, JOHN	C B	12	6.29	1	20	1					4		2					9			1					
FAVELL, THOMAS	C B	6	6.29	5	23	1					4		3					7	1	2						
LOUITTT, WILLIAM	ORC	6	6.29	5	13	3					2	1	1						2	1	1					
CORSTON, JAMES	ORC	6	6.29	5	10	1					4	1	2													
MERRIMAN, JOHN	ORC	6	6.29	5	9	4					2		2						1							
TULLOCH, WILLIAM	ORC	6	6.29	5	10	4							2													
LINKLATER, HUGH	C B	6		4	18	4																				
JOHNSON, MAGNUS	ORC	6	4.89	5	5	3							2													
ROBERTSON, ROBERT	ORC	6	6.29	5	13	3							3													
SINCLAIR, JAMES	ORC	6	6.29	5	11	3																				
HUMPHREYJOCK	NAT			5	5	1					1	1	3					12								
KNIGHT, MAGNUS	ORC	6	6.29	5	11	2												1		1						
TAIT, WILLIAM	ORC	6	2.86	5	19	1												4								
TAIT, MAGNUS	ORC	6	6.29	5	15	11								1												
YORSTON, WILLIAM	ORC	8	6.29	2	16	1																				

Table 10 The 1798-99 Work Hierarchy (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/6)

NAME	B	C	D	E	F	G	I1	I2	I3	I4	I5	I6	I7	J1	J2	J4	J5	J6	K1	K2	K6	K7	K9	L1	L2	L4	L6
HIERARCHY 1798-99																											
MASTER																											
COLEMAN ROBERT	ENGL	80	22	17	23	3	1		4																		
SENIOR LABOURER																											
MILLER, THOMAS	ORC	25	7.01	12	23	4		1																			
PRINCE, MARK	ORC	30	4.01	10	18	1			2	1			1														
HARVEY, THOMAS	ORC	10	3.83	2		1		1																			
SLATTER, JAMES SR	ORC	14	7.01	7	20	6						1*	3			1				4		1	1				
LENA, HENRY	ORC	25	7.01	12	26	2			7		1					6	5			2	1*	1*					2*
JOLLYCOEUR, LOUIS	F CAN	18	7.01	7	17	6					4		6							3		1					2
SCARTH, JOHN	ORC	15	7.01	9	21	3					6		3		1												
MURRY, MAGNUS	ORC	15	7.01	9	15	2																					
BROWN, DAVID	ORC	15	7.01	7	7	5			1		10		4	4		2											
JOHNSTONE, JOSEPH	ORC	15	7.01	7	8	3																					
HARVEY, CHRIS	ORC	15	7.01	7	11	1					3		4											1	2		2
ROBINSON, ROBERT	ORC	14	7.01	6	13	4					4		3														1
SINCLAIR, JAMES	ORC	14	7.01	8	11	4					11		3	2								2					1
TAIT, MAGNUS	ORC	14	7.01	6	15	2					2	1	1									1					1
LOUTTIT, WILL STEPH	ORC	14	7.01	10	18	1																					
ANDERSON, JOHN	ORC	12		7	13	4					2	1	2						5								1
FLAWS, MAGNUS	ORC	12	7.01	9	9	2																			1		
LOUTTIT, WILLIAM	ORC	12	7.01	6	13	4							2														
KNIGHT, MAGNUS	ORC	12	7.01	6	11	4																					
SHORT, JAMES	ORC	10	7.01	8	30	2					1														12		
GOUNDWATER, GEORGE	ORC	10	7.01	7	18	2																					
EASTER, JOHN	MAT	8	7.01	14	37	6																					
TRADESMEN																											
DEXTER, JAMES	ORC	20	7.01	3	25	2								18		6*	2	1									
CHRISTIAN, JOHN	ORC	15	7.01	3	4	2					1	1						5									
ANDERSON, JAMES	ORC	10	4.05	3	25	2					6		4	1	10	1											
JUNIOR LABOURER																											
RICHARDS, THOMAS	C B	12	7.01	5	10	5			1		1*		1						1	6	2			1			
LYONS, JOHN	C B	12	7.01	2	20	2					7		5							3		1					
LINKLATER, HUGH	C B	6	7.01	5	18	5														1							
YORSTON, WILLIAM	ORC	8	7.01	3	16	2																					
RUDGE, GEORGE	ORC	8	7.01	2	15	1																					
ESSON, JOHN	ORC	8	3.83	2	12	1					3		5			1				1					1	1	
FLAWS, JOHN	ORC	8	7.01	3	5	1													1						11		2
SLATTER, JAMES JR	ORC	8	7.01	2	16	1																					
THOMSON, JAMES	ORC	6	4.05	5	8	1																					
SUTHERLAND, PETRY	C B			1	5	1					7		1	1						9		1					1
JOHNSTONE, WILLIAM	?	?				3																					

Table 11 The 1799-1800 Work Hierarchy (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/7)

NAME	B	C	D	E	F	G	I1	I2	I3	I4	I5	I6	I7	J1	J2	J4	J5	K2	K6	K9	L1	L2	L6	L7
HIERARCHY 1799-1800																								
MASTER																								
GOODMAN, ROBERT	ENGL	HO		18	23	4	1		1															
ASSISTANT																								
SUTHERLAND, JOHN	SCOT	30	8.45	22	35	6		1		1														
PRINCE, MARK	ORC	30	5.48	11	18	2												11	1					
BUNN, THOMAS	ENGL	15	5.48	3	23	1			12	1	1							3	1					
SENIOR LABOURER																								
MILLER, THOMAS	ORC	25		13	23	5		1																
LINKLATER, JOHN	ORC	30	5.48	16	16	3																		
LENA, HENRY	ORC	25	5.48	13	26	3			2		4					2	1	1						
YORSTON, JAMES	ORC	25	5.48	14	18	5					1		2											
SLATTER, JAMES SR	ORC	18	5.48	8	20	7						2						2						
HARVEY, CHRIS	ORC	15	3.51	8	11	2			1		6		1		1			1					1	
JOLLYCOEUR, LOUIS	F CAN	18	5.48	8	17	7							1						1					
SCARTH, JOHN	ORC	15	5.48	10	21	4					1	2						1						
SINCLAIR, JAMES	ORC	15	5.48	9	11	5					4		1			1	1				1			
YORSTON, MAGNUS	ORC	15	5.48	8	12	5																		
BROWN, PETER	ORC	15	5.48	8	11	1					1		1											
LUTTIT, WILL STENH.	ORC	14	5.48	11	18	2					1		1											
TAIT, MAGNUS	ORC	14	5.48	7	15	3					2	1											1	1
LINKLATER, HUGH	C B	12	5.48	6	18	6			1		4*							1		1				
LUTTIT, WILL BUSA	ORC	12	5.48	7	13	5						1	1											
ANDERSON, JOHN	ORC	12	5.48	8	13	4					4		5					1					1	
KNIGHT, MAGNUS	ORC	12	5.48	7	11	4																		
GOLDMACKER, GEORGE	ORC	12	5.48	8	18	3							1											
GUN, ROBERT	ORC	12	5.48	7	10	3																		
CURSTON, JAMES	ORC	12	5.48	7	10	2							2											
HOUSTON, THOMAS	ORC	12	5.48	7	17	1																		
BAXTER, JOHN	NAT	8	5.48	15	37	7																		
TRADESMAN																								
MACKIE, JAMES	ORC	24	5.48	4	25	3								8		1	1							
ANDERSON, JAMES	ORC	12	5.48	4	25	3					1		1		4							1		
JUNIOR LABOURER																								
LYONS, JOHN	C B	12	5.48	3	20	3					3		3					5					1	1
YORSTON, WILLIAM	ORC	8	5.48	4	16	3							5											
FLETT, ROBERT	ORC	8	5.48	4	8	1						2										3		
FLAGG, ROBERT	ORC	8	5.48	4	8	1																		
SLATTER, JAMES JR	ORC	8	5.48	3	16	1					3		3					2						1
ESSON, JOHN	ORC	8	5.48	3	12	2					3		1					1						
RUDGE, GEORGE	ORC	8	5.48	3	15	2					1		1					1				3		
HENDERSON, GEORGE	ORC	8	5.48	2	14	1					1		1					1						
SPENCE, THOMAS	ORC	8	5.48	2	5	1																		
SUTHERLAND, PERRY	C B		5.48	2	5	2					2	1						6						
THOMSON, WILLIAM	ORC	8	5.48	2	9	1*																		
JOHNSTON, WILLIAM		?																						
FLETT, GEORGE		?																						

Table 12 The 1800-01 Work Hierarchy (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/8)

NAME	B	C	D	E	F	G	I1	I2	I3	I4	I5	I6	I7	J1	J2	J4	J5	J6	K2	K6	K9	K10	L1	L2
HIERARCHY 1800-01																								
OFFICER																								
GOODWIN, ROBERT	ENGL	7		19	23	5	1		1												1			
ASSISTANT																								
SUTHERLAND, JOHN	SCOT	50	9.5	23	35	7		1		1														
MILLER, THOMAS	ORC	30	5.75	14	23	6		1					1											
PRINCE, MARK	ORC	30	5.75	12	18	3		1	1										4	1			1	
BUNN, THOMAS	ENGL	15	5.75	4	23	2			1	1														
SENIOR LABOURER																								
LENA, HENRY	ORC	30	5.75	14	26	4			9								2		2*					
SLATTER, JAMES SR	ORC	18	5.75	9	20	8						2*							4*				1	
LUTTIT, WILLIAM JR	ORC	18	5.75	12	18	3						1	2					2						
TAIT, WILLIAM	ORC	18	5.75	8	15	4							1						1					
SCARTH, JOHN	ORC	18	5.75	11	21	5							1		1									
JOLLYCOEUR, LOUIS	F CAN	18	5.75	9	17	8																		
HARVEY, CHRIS	ORC	18	5.75	9	11	3							1						3			1		
SINCLAIR, JAMES	ORC	15	5.75	10	11	6			1		1								1					
GROUNDWATER, GEORGE	ORC	15	5.75	9	10	4																		1
YORSTON, MAGNUS	ORC	15	5.75	9	12	6			1				1											
LOUTTIT, WILLIAM SR	ORC	15	5.75	8	13	6						2	1								1			
CORSTON, JAMES	ORC	15	5.75	8	10	3			1		1								2					
LINKLATER, HUGH	C B	12	5.75	7	18	7			2		4*								2					
FASTER, JOHN	NAT	8	5.75	16	37	8																		
TRADESMEN																								
INNISTER, JAMES	ORC	24	5.75	5	25	4								3		1	1	1*					1	
ANDERSON, JAMES	ORC	14	5.75	5	25	4									4				1					
JUNIOR LABOURER																								
LYONS, JOHN	C B	12	5.75	4	20	4			1			1							5					
YORSTON, WILLIAM	ORC	8	5.75	5	16	4			1				1											
BUDGE, GEORGE	ORC	8	5.75	4	16	3			1			2						1	3					
FURBISTER, ANDREW	ORC	8	5.75	4	5	2			1			2												
SLATTER, JAMES JR	ORC	8	5.75	4	16	2						2						2						
ESSON, JOHN	ORC	8	5.75	4	12	3													1				1	
SPENCE, THOMAS	ORC	8	5.75	3	5	2													1					
THOMPSON, WILLIAM	ORC	8	5.75	3	9	2																		
SUTHERLAND, PEGGY	C B	0	5.75	3	5	3																		
FLETT, GEORGE	?	?																						
SPENCE, GEORGE	?	?							1				3											1

Table 13 The 1801-02 Work Hierarchy (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/9)

NAME	B	C	D	E	F	G	I1	I2	I3	I4	I5	I6	I7	J1	J2	J4	J5	J6	K2	K3	K4	K6	K8	K9	L1	L3	L5	L6
HIERARCHY 1801-02																												
OFFICER																												
MCKAY, JOHN	A CAN	70	11.8	12	23	2	1						1															
ASSISTANT																												
MILLER, THOMAS	ORC	40	4.45	15	23	7		1																				
HUNN, THOMAS	ENGL	15	6.9	5	23	3		1		1																		
SENIOR LABOURER																												
LENA, HENRY	ORC	30	4.45	15	26	5		1					2			1			1				1					
SLATTER, JAMES SR	ORC	25	4.45	9	20	8					2	1*							8									
NORN, THOMAS	ORC	30	4.45	15	25	2					3		11				1				1			1	1			4
HARVEY, CHRIS	ORC	20	4.45	10	11	4																						
LUTTIT, WILLIAM JR	ORC	20	4.45	9	13	7					1	2	5															
JOLLYCOEUR, LOUIS	F CAN	24	4.45	10	17	9																						
CORSTON, JAMES	ORC	20	4.45	9	10	6					1		7															
YORSTON, MAGNUS	ORC	20	4.45	10	12	7																						2
ANDERSON, JOHN	ORC	18	5.75	9	13	6					3		3			1		4				2						
SCARTH, JOHN	ORC	18	4.45	12	21	6							1							1								
TAIT, MAGNUS	ORC	18	4.45	8	15	4					1		1						1					1			1	
ROBINSON, ROBERT	ORC	18	4.45	9	13	5							3					2						1				
SHURT, JAMES	ORC	15	4.45	11	31	3							3						1							8		2
FAVELL, THOMAS	C B	15	4.45	9	23	2					1		1						4	2			1					1
MOAR, JAMES	ORC	16	4.45	10	13	4						1	2															
YORSTON, WILLIAM	ORC	15	4.45	6	16	5					1	2	7											1				
BASTER, JOHN	NAT	8	4.45	17	37	9							4	1		4			5									
MUNRO, MAGNUS	ORC	8	4.45	8	9	1																						
TRADESMEN																												
DINSTER, JAMES	ORC	25	4.45	5	25	5				1			4	15		6		4										
ANDERSON, JAMES	ORC	14	4.45	5	25	5					3		1		14			1						1				1
JUNIOR LABOURER																												
LYONS, JOHN	C B	12	4.45	4	20	5					6		9						5				1					
RUDGE, GEORGE	ORC	8	4.45	4	16	4							1															
ESSUN, JOHN	ORC	8	4.45		12	4																						
HENDERSON, GEORGE	ORC	15	4.45		14	2							3															
SLATTER, JAMES JR	ORC	8	4.45	4	16	2					1	2	2															
SPENCE, THOMAS	ORC	15	4.45	3	5	3													9									
SUTHERLAND, HENRY	C B	0	4.45	3	5	4					4																	
FLETT, GEORGE	?	?									2		3					2										
STANGER, THOMAS	?	?											1															

Table 14 The 1802-03 Work Hierarchy (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/10)

NAME	B	C	D	E	F	G	I1	I2	I5	I6	I7	J1	J2	K2	K3	K4	K6
HIERARCHY 1802-03																	
MASTER																	
MCKAY, JOHN	A	CAN	70	15.3	13	20	3	1									
ASSISTANT																	
MILLER, THOMAS	ORC		40	9.13	16	23	8		1								
SENIOR LABOURER																	
NORN, THOMAS	ORC		30	5.56	16	25	3									1	
SLATTER, JAMES SR	ORC		26	5.56	10	20	9			1				1			
SCARTH, JOHN	ORC		20	5.56	13	21	7		2		1						
SHORT, JAMES	ORC		20	5.56	12	31	4		1								
LUTTIT, WILLIAM SR	ORC		20	5.56	10	12	8			1							
YORSTON, MAGNUS	ORC		20	5.56	11	14	8			1				2			
MOWAT, MAGNUS	ORC		22	5.56	9	9	2										
LUTTIT, WILLIAM JR	ORC		22	5.56	6	10	5			1							
ANDERSON, JOHN	ORC		18	5.56	10	13	7										
FAVEL, THOMAS	C	B	15	5.56	10	23	3		6					4			1
YORSTON, WILLIAM	ORC		15	5.56	7	16	6		1								
LYONS, JOHN	C	B	12	5.56	6	20	6		3					10			
MAUR, JAMES	ORC		16	5.56	11	13	5							1	1		
EASTER, JOHN	NAT		8	5.56	18	37	10										
BUDGE, GEORGE	ORC		12	5.56	6	16	5		3		1						
ESSON, JOHN	ORC		8	5.56	6	12	5		2					2			
TRADESMEN																	
INNISTER, JAMES	ORC		30	5.56	7	25	6		1			2					
ANDERSON, JAMES	ORC		15	5.56	7	25	6		1				2				
JUNIOR LABOURER																	
FAVEL, HUMPHREY	C	B	20	5.56	1	14	1		1					8	3	1	
HENDERSON, GEORGE	ORC		15	5.56	5	14	3										
SPENSE, THOMAS	ORC		15	5.56	5	5	4										
SUTHERLAND, PETRY	C	B	0	5.56	5	5	5										
JOHNSON, THOMAS	ORC		8	5.56	3	9	1			1							
WICK, PETER	ORC		8	5.56	3	9	1		1					1			
CARTER, JOHN	?		?						1								
FLETT, GEORGE	?		?						1								

Table 15 The 1803-04 Work Hierarchy (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/11)

NAME	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I1	I2	I4	I5	I6	I7	J2	J4	J6	K2	K3	K4
HIERARCHY 1803-04																			
MASTER																			
MCKAY, JOHN	A	CAN	70	12.6	14	20	4		1'										
ASSISTANT																			
MILLER, THOMAS		ORC	40	7.3	17	23	9			1									
SENIOR LABOURER																			
NORN, THOMAS		ORC	35	4.65	17	25	4			1									
ANDERSON, JOHN		ORC	26	4.65	11	13	8						2						
FAVELL, THOMAS		C B	18	4.65	11	23	4				3*		9*				4		
MAIR, JOHN		ORC	26	4.65	12	13	6				4		3				2		
LUTTIT, WILLIAM SR		ORC	32	4.65	11	13	9				1	1							
MOWATT, JOHN		ORC	18	4.65	11	18	1				1						2		
SHORT, JAMES		ORC	20	4.65	13	31	5									1			
YORSTON, MAGNUS		ORC	20	4.65	12	12	9				1								
YORSTON, WILLIAM		ORC	15	4.65	8	16	7				3*					2			
LYONS, JOHN		C B	12	4.65	7	20	7				4		3*				3	1	
EASTER, JOHN		NAT	8	4.65	19	37	11												1
BUDGE, GEORGE		ORC	12	4.65	7	16	6					1							
HENDERSON, GEORGE		ORC	15	4.65	6	14	4				2		2				1		
MOWATT, JOHN		ORC	18	4.65	11	18	1				1						2		
ROBERTSON, ROBERT		ORC	18	4.65	11	13	6						2						
TRADESMEN																			
LINKSTER, JAMES		ORC	30	4.65	8	25	7				2*		1		8*	3			
ANDERSON, JAMES		ORC	15	4.65	8	25	7				3		1	1					
JUNIOR LABOURER																			
FAVELL, HUMPHREY		C B	20		2	14	2				4		3				7	2	
SUTHERLAND, ANDREW		ORC	15	4.65	2	3	1								1				
WICK, PETER		ORC	16	4.65	4	9	2						1				2		
ARCLESS, JERIMIAH		ORC	8	4.65	3	3	1				1		1						
BOAR, THOMAS		ORC	8	4.65	3	12	1						2						
HEMPBURN, ANDREW		ORC	8	4.65	3	5	1						3				2		
CRAGIE, HENRY		?	?										2				1		
MANOR		F	CAN	0															

Table 16 The 1804-05 Work Hierarchy (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/12)

NAME	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I1	I2	I4	I5	I6	I7	J1	J2	J4	J5	J6	K2	K3	K6	K7	K9	L1	L5	I6
HIERARCHY 1804-05																										
MASTER																										
MCKAY, JOHN	A CAN	70	11	15	20	5		1		1			1								1				1	
ASSISTANT																										
MILLER, THOMAS	ORC	50	6.5	18	23	10			1	1																
SENIOR LABOURER																										
NORN, THOMAS	ORC	35	4.25	18	25	5													1		1*					2
LUTTIT, WILLIAM SR	ORC	32	4.25	12	13	10																				
JULLYCOEUR, LOUIS	F CAN	28	4.25	13	22	10																				
BUDGE, GEORGE	ORC	12	4.25	8	16	7						1*	2				1									
HENDERSON, GEORGE	ORC	20	4.25	7	14	5					2	1	7	1		1	1	2	2				1	1		
YORSTON, WILLIAM	ORC	20	4.25	9	16	8					2		5						3	1			2	1		
LYONS, JOHN	C B	15	4.25	8	20	8					4								2	1	1	1				
EASTER, JOHN	NAT	8	4.25	20	37	12							3	1		1	1		15	1	1					
SHURT, JAMES	ORC	20	4.25	14	31	6							2					1								2
ROBERTSON, ROBERT	ORC	18	4.25	12	13	7					1		1													
TRADESMEN																										
INKSTER, JAMES	ORC	30	4.25	9	25	8				1	4			6			7	8*	3			2*	1		1	
ANDERSON, JAMES	ORC	26	4.25	9	25	8					3				4							1				
JUNIOR LABOURER																										
FAVELL, HUMPHREY	C B	20		3	14	3					5*		3						10	6*	3		1		1	
BOAR, THOMAS	ORC	18	4.25	4	12	2							3													
MASON, THOMAS	ORC	15	4.25	4	13	1					1		3						2							
ANDERSON, THOMAS	ORC	14	4.25	2	6	1						1						1	2							
ANDERSON, ISSAC	ORC	8	4.25	2	6	1												2								
INKSTER, GEORGE	ORC	8	4.25	2	9	1													1	1			1			
CORSEY, WILLIAM	?	?											1													
CRAGIE, HENRY	?	?											1					1								
MANUR	F CAN	0																								
HENRY, HUGH	A CAN	0																								

Table 17 The 1805-06 Work Hierarchy (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/13)

NAME	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I1	I2	I3	I4	I5	I6	I7	J1	J2	J4	J6	K1	K2	K3	K7	K9	L1	L5	L8
HIERARCHY 1805-06																										
MASTER																										
MCKAY, JOHN	A CAN	70	18.0	16	20	6		1			1			2												
ASSISTANT																										
MILLER, THOMAS	ORC	50	9.98	19	23	11			1																	
SENIOR LABOURER																										
BUDGE, GEORGE	ORC	30	5.99	9	16	8					1		1*													
NORN, THOMAS	ORC	35	5.99	19	25	6				2							1*					1	1			
YORSTON, WILLIAM	ORC	20	5.99	10	16	9						2*					1						1	1		
LYONS, JOHN	C B	20	5.99	9	20	9						2		2						1						
FAVEL, THOMAS	C B	23	5.99	13	23	5								2*						6						
JOLLYCOEUR, LOUIS	F CAN	28	5.99	14	22	11																	3			
EASTER, JOHN	NAT	10	5.99	21	37	13											1	1		19*						
HENDERSON, GEORGE	ORC	20	5.99	8	14	6					1		1													
SHORT, JAMES	ORC	28	5.99	15	31	7						1														
CURRIGAL, J.	ORC	24	5.99	9	15	1							1													
SILK, EDWARD	A CAN	25	5.99	9	15	1													1							
WICK, PETER	ORC	16	5.99	6	9	3								1												
MOWAT, GEORGE	ORC	15	5.99	6	10	1						1				2			1			1	1			
TRADESMEN																										
INGSTER, JAMES	ORC	35	5.99	10	25	9			1							7*		5*	1		1					
ANDERSON, JAMES	ORC	26	5.99	10	25	9						1		2			2							1	1	1
JUNIOR LABOURER																										
FAVELL, HUMPHREY	C B	20	5.99	4	14	4						1		3	2					5	6		2		1	
BORE, THOMAS	ORC	18	5.99	5	12	3						*		1						1	1					
ANDERSON, THOMAS	ORC	14	5.99	3	6	2						1		1						3						
ANDERSON, ISSAC	ORC	8	5.99	3	6	2																				
SCARTH, JAMES	ORC	8	5.99	3	9	1							2	1												
CRAGEY, JAMES	ORC	10	5.99	2	5	1								1												
CORSEY, WILLIAM	?	?											1													
SPENSE, GEORGE	?	?										1							1							
MCKAY, JOHN RICHARDS	C B	0										1								1						
KIPLING, JOHN JR.	C B	0																								
HENEY, HUGH	A CAN	0								1		1*	1+													
LA FRANCE	F CAN	0											1+													

Table 18 The 1806-07 Work Hierarchy (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/14)

NAME	B	C	D	E	F	G	I1	I2	I3	I4	I5	I6	I7	J1	J2	J4	J5	J6	K2	K6	K7	K9	L1	L2	L6
HIERARCHY 1806-07									4																
MASTER																									
VINCENT, THOMAS	ENGL	50	14.8	17	23	1	1		5																
ASSISTANT																									
MILLER, THOMAS	ORC	50	8.38	20	23	12		1																	
SENIOR LABOURER																									
BUDLE, GEORGE	ORC	30	5.19	10	16	9				1		1*													
YORSTON, WILLIAM	ORC	20	5.19	11	16	10			5	1						2				1		2*			4
BALLENTINE, WILLIAM	ORC	35	5.19	14	17	1																			
ROAR, THOMAS	ORC	18	5.19	6	12	4		1																	
SLATTER, JAMES SR	ORC	30	5.19	14	19	11						2													
LYONS, JOHN	C B	20	5.19	10	20	10					1*		6			1			4*	1		5			2
LINKLATER, HUGH	C B	25	5.19	13	17	8							2												
FAVEL, THOMAS	C B	23	5.19	14	23	6							6									1			3
SILK, EDWARD	A CAN	25	5.19	10	15	2																			
HENDERSON, GEORGE	ORC	20	5.19	9	14	7							3			1			2			1			5
CORRIGAL, JACOB	ORC	24	5.19	10	15	2					2														
SHORT, JAMES	ORC	28	5.19	16	21	8							1												
JOLLYCOEUR, LOUIS	F CAN	28	5.19	15	22	12										1									2
FASTER, JOHN	ORC	10	5.19	22	37	14										2			6*	3					4
KIELING, JOHN SR	C B	20	5.19	13	27	1																			
MOWAT, GEORGE	ORC	22	5.19	7	10	2						2													
WATERS, WILLIAM -	ORC	20	5.19	6	8	1																			
MASON, THOMAS	ORC	15	5.19	6	13	2																			
BEMS, WILLIAM	ORC	10	5.19	6	15	1							5						1						1
TRADESMEN																									
ANDERSON, JAMES	ORC	26	5.19	11	25	10							3		23								1		
CORSTIE, ALEX	ORC	20	5.19	3	8	1								22			7*			5	2*				
JUNIOR LABOURER																									
FAVELL, HUMPHREY	C B	20	5.19	5	14	5							1												
ANDERSON, THOMAS	ORC	14	5.19	4	6	3						2													
CRAGIE, THOMAS	ORC	8	5.19	5	11	1										3									3
WISHART, JOHN	ORC	8	5.19	5	11	1													1			1			3
ANDERSON, ISSAC	ORC	8	5.19	4	6	3												3				5			
INGSTER, GEORGE	ORC	8	5.19	4	9	2							2												
SCARTH, JAMES	ORC	8	5.19	4	9	2							4												
CRAGIE, JAMES	ORC	10	5.19	3	5	2																			
KIPLING, JOHN RAM	C B	0											1			1						1			3
CORSEY, WILLIAM	?	?										2													
CRAGIE, HENRY	?	?											3						1						
FLAWS, ROBERT	?	?											1											3	
SPENCE, GEORGE	?	?														1	1	3							

Table 19 The 1807-08 Work Hierarchy (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/15)

NAME	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I1	I2	I3	I4	I5	I7	J1	J2	J4	J6	I2	I6	I7	I9	I5	I6
HIERARCHY 1807-08																							
MASTER																							
MCKAY, JOHN	A	CAN	70	12.3	18	20	7	1		2								1					
ASSISTANT																							
HENEY, HUGH	A	CAN	50	7.09	2	7	1		1														
MILLER, THOMAS	ORC		50	4.85	21	23	13		1														
STITT, JOHN	A	CAN	50		1	10	1																
SENIOR LABOURER																							
MORN, THOMAS	ORC		35	4.57	21	25	7		1			2											
YORSTON, WILLIAM	ORC		27	4.57	12	16	11			7	1						1	2		1*	2	2	5*
BUDGE, GEORGE	ORC		30	4.57	11	16	10							7		1	3						
FAVEL, THOMAS	C	B	26	4.57	15	23	7						4					2*	2				
LYONS, JOHN	C	B	20	4.57	11	20	11						4*					7*	3				1
SLATTER, JAMES SR	ORC		30	4.57	15	19	12																
HENDERSON, GEORGE	ORC		28	4.57	10	14	8						4										
JOLLYCOEUR, LOUIS	F	CAN	28	4.57	16	22	13					2	1					1					
SHORT, JAMES	ORC		28	4.57	17	31	9						1						1				
CORRIGAL, JACOB	ORC		24	4.57	11	15	3												1				
BAXTER, JOHN	MAT		10	4.57	23	37	15																
KIPLING, JOHN SR	C	B	20	3.3	14	27	2						2										
WATERS, WILLIAM	ORC		25	4.57	7	8	2																
MOWATT, GEORGE	ORC		22	4.57	8	10	3						2	6		1							
MASON, THOMAS	ORC		20	4.57	7	13	3																
GROUNDWATER, GEORGE	ORC		16	4.57	14	19	5																
LUTTIT, ALEX	ORC		16	4.57	6	10	1																
CRAGIE, WILLIAM	ORC		15	4.57	6	11	1						1										
HOGS, WILLIAM	ORC		10	4.57	7	15	2						1										
CRAGIE, THOMAS	ORC		8	4.57	6	11	2						3										
TRADESMEN																							
INGSTER, JAMES	ORC		35	4.57	12	25	10		1														
ANDERSON, JAMES	ORC		28	4.57	12	25	11						2		2			1					
CORSTIE, ALEX	ORC		20	4.57	4	8	2							3*		6	4		1				
JUNIOR LABOURER																							
ANDERSON, TOM	ORC		14	4.57	5	6	4																
INGSTER, GEORGE	ORC		8	4.57	5	9	3						2										
ANDERSON, ISSAC	ORC		8	4.57	5	6	4																
SCARTH, JAMES	ORC		8	4.57	5	9	3						1										
KIPLING, JOHN RAM	C	B	0																				
KIPLING, PEASE TOM	C	B	0									2	2					5					1
MCKAY, WILLIAM	C	B	0										1					5					1
MCKAY, EDWARD	C	B	0										2					3	2				
SOLOI, PETER	A	CAN	0										1										
CORSEY, WILLIAM	?		?										1										
CRAGIE, JAMES	ORC		10	4.57	4	5	3																
SYNGE, GEORGE	?		?																				
SYNGE, DAVID	?		?																				

Table 20 The 1808-09 Work Hierarchy (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/16)

NAME	B	C	D	E	F	G	I1	I2	I3	I4	I5	I6	I7	J1	J2	J3	J4	J5	J6	K2	K3	K6	K7	K9	L1	L2	L4	L6
HIERARCHY 1808-09																												
MASTER																												
MCKAY, JOHN	A CAN	70	12.8	19	20	7	1		2																			
ASSISTANT																												
STITT, JOHN	A CAN	20	3.15	2	10	2																						
BUTLER, JOSEPH	ENGL	23	8.81	9	13	1			3											1								
SENIOR LABOURER																												
YORSTON, WILLIAM	ORC	27	4.71	13	16	12		1	1	1			2															
NUNN, THOMAS	ORC	35	4.71	22	25	8		1			1		1															
LYONS, JOHN	C B	28	4.71	12	20	12					3		5				1	2		9	1	5		1				
SLATTER, JAMES SR	ORC	30	4.71	16	19	13							2															1
JOLLYCOEUR, LOUIS	F CAN	28	4.71	17	22	14					1									1								1*
FAVEL, THOMAS	C B	26	4.71	16	23	8					1		1							1	1	2						
FAVEL, HUMPHREY	C B	25	4.71	7	14	6							2							1	1							
HENDERSON, GEORGE	ORC	28	4.71	11	14	9							1						1	1			1					
SHORT, JAMES	ORC	28	4.71	18	31	10							1				1		1	1						1		1
FASTER, JAMES	NAT	10	4.71	24	37	16							4*				2			3								
GROUNDWATER, GEORGE	ORC	16	4.71	15	19	6							2				1							1				
MASON, THOMAS	ORC	20	4.71	8	13	4							1															
MOWAT, GEORGE	ORC	22	4.71	9	10	4																						
CRAGIE, THOMAS	ORC	15	4.71	7	11	3																				1		
CRAGIE, WILLIAM	ORC	15	4.71	7	11	2							1							1				1				
INGSTER, GEORGE	ORC	15	4.71	6	9	4							3				1					1						1
SCARTH, JAMES	ORC	15	4.71	6	9	4							1							1								
BEGG, WILLIAM	ORC	10	4.71	8	15	3											1							1				
ANDERSON, ISSAC	ORC	15	4.71	6	6	5			1							1												
ANDERSON, THOMAS	ORC	14	4.71	6	6	5					1		1				1			2		1						
TRADESMEN																												
INGSTER, JAMES	ORC	35	4.71	13	25	11					1		1	1			5*	3	3				2*		2		2*	
ANDERSON, JAMES	ORC	28	4.71	13	25	12		2							13					1								
COSTIE, ALEX	ORC	20	4.71	5	8	3								15*			1	1	1						1			
JUNIOR LABOURER																												
CRAGIE, JAMES	ORC	10	4.71	5	5	4														1								
HENDERSON, EDWARD	ORC	8		3	3	1																						
MAINLAND, JAMES	ORC	8	4.71	2	5	1							2			6	1											
SINCLAIR, ROBERT	ORC	8	4.71	2	3	1			1				2							1								
TATE, PETER	ORC	8	4.71	2	3	1							1															
KIPLING, JOHN RAM	C B	0											4							2								1
KIPLING, PEASE TOM	C B	0											4															
MCKAY, WILLIAM	C B	0									3		2				1			3		6		1				
HENDERSON, SAMUEL	?	?							1				2															

Table 21 The 1809-10 Work Hierarchy (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/17)

NAME	B	C	D	E	F	G	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	J1	J2	J3	J4	J5	J6	I2	I3	I6	I7	I9	I.1	I.2	I4	I.5	I.6	I8
HIERARCHY 1809-10																														
MASTER																														
MCKAY, JOHN	A	CAN	70	20.1	20	20	8	1																						
ASSISTANT																														
BEDLEY, JOSEPH		ENGL	23	10.1	10	13	2		1				3																	
ADAM, THOMAS		ORC	35	2.57	23	25	9			5		1																	4	
BIDDLE, GEORGE		ORC	30	5.62	13	16	11						1																	
MCKAY, JOHN RICHARDS	C	B	8	5.41	2	14	2			3			2*							1										
SENIOR LABOURER																														
WORSTON, WILLIAM		ORC	27	2.57	14	16	13				1	5*	1*																3	
SLATTER, JAMES SR		ORC	30	5.41	17	19	14						3											1						
JOHNSON, HUGH		ORC	30	5.41	10	10	1			1			3			1	1		4			3	3		1			1	1	
LYONS, JOHN	C	B	28	4.7	13	20	13						2				1			6		2	1		1					
FAVELL, THOMAS	C	B	26	5.41	17	23	9						4				2			6	1	3	1						1	
FAVELL, HUMPHREY	C	B	25	5.41	8	14	7			1		1	1				1			14		3	3							
LINKLATER, HUGH	C	B	25	2.57	16	18	9			1		1	1				1			9		1	2							
EASTER, JOHN		NAT	10	5.41	25	37	17																							
HENDERSON, GEORGE		ORC	28	2.57	12	14	10						1																	
HARVEY, CHRISTOPHER		ORC	25	5.41	15	18	5						2				2	1	1		1		1						3	
JOLLYCOEUR, LOUIS		F	CAN	28	5.41	18	22	15														1		1			1		2*	
SHORT, JAMES		ORC	28	5.41	19	31	11						1													1		1	1	
MASON, THOMAS		ORC	20	2.57	9	14	5						6						4				2						1	
BAILLIE, ANDREW		ORC	18	5.41	6	17	1						1																	
CRAGIE, THOMAS		ORC	15	2.57	8	11	4						1							1										
CRAGIE, WILLIAM		ORC	15	5.41	8	11	3						5	1			3			2			1					2	1
DUSTER, GEORGE		ORC	15	5.41	7	9	5						5				3			1			6	1			1	2	
SCARTH, JAMES		ORC	15	2.57	7	9	5					1	3				1					3							2	
VALLENT, JAMES		ORC	15	2.57	9	9	1																			5				
IBBS, WILLIAM		ORC	14	5.41	9	15	4						4				3					5	1					1	7	
TRADESMEN																														
DUSTER, JAMES		ORC	35	2.57	14	25	12						1*	11			40*	2				5	2*							
ANDERSON, JAMES		ORC	28	2.57	14	25	13						3		37					2							4	1		
JUNIOR LABOURER																														
SETTER, GEORGE		ORC	18	2.57	4	15	2						2				1			5			2					1		
MAINLAND, JAMES		ORC	8	2.57	3	5	2						3			2*	1								2		KP	1	1	
HOUSTON, WILLIAM		ORC	12	5.41	4	4	1						1			2	1			2		1			6		2	2		
MOIR, ROBERT		ORC	12	2.57	4	4	1						3															1	4	
SINCLAIR, ROBERT		ORC	8	2.57	3	3	2						2	1						2		1				1		1	3	
TAIT, PETER		ORC	8	2.57	3	3	2																							
FAVELL, JOHN	C	B	0				1						1							1				2						
KIPLING, JOHN RAM	C	B	0				1						2									1								
KIPLING, PEASE TOM	C	B	0				1						1																	
SCOSEE		A	CAN	0			1																							
CRANSFONTAINE		?																												
MONTRAE		?																												

Table 22 The 1810-11 Work Hierarchy (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/18a)

NAME	B	C	D	E	F	G	I1	I3	I4	I5	I7	J1	J2	J4	J5	J6	K2	K3	K6	K7	K9	L1	L2	L3	L5	L6	L8
HIERARCHY 1810-11																											
MASTER																											
MCKAY, JOHN	A CAN	50		20	20	8	1		1																		
ASSISTANT																											
HENEY, HUGH	A CAN	50		4	6	4	1	1			2																
KENNEDY, ALEX	ORC	50		?	?	1																					
NORN, THOMAS	ORC	35		24	25	10		2		1	2				1										1		
MCKAY, JOHN RICHARDS	C B	8		3	14	3		5			1														1		
MASON, ARCHIBALD	SCOT	30		1	1	1					3																
SENIOR LABOURER																											
YORSTON, WILLIAM	ORC	35		15	16	13	1	5	1		2*	1		1											3*		
LYONS, JOHN	C B	28		14	20	14					1			4	1	1	15			1						1	
HENDERSON, GEORGE	ORC	30		13	14	11					3			2		5				3						1	
JOLLYCOEUR, LOUIS	F CAN	28		19	22	16					1			2			2				1	2	3		2	2*	
FAVELL, THOMAS	C B	26		18	23	10		3			5	1		6			13	2	1	2				2	1		
FAVELL, HUMPHREY	C B	25		9	14	8		1			3			1													
MASON, THOMAS	ORC	25		10	14	6					3																
SHORT, JAMES	ORC	28		20	31	12					3	1		3		1	2			1		1	4		2		1
SETTER, GEORGE	ORC	18		5	15	3					6			3			4		1		9					1	
SINCLAIR, WILLIAM	ORC	16		8	10	1					1			2		3			1	1						2	
WISHART, JOHN	ORC	22		9	11	2		1			5			2		1	1			1						2	
CURRIGAL, JOHN	ORC	18		5	14	1		1			3			3		1	4			2							1
EASTER, JOHN	NAT	10		26	37	18					4	1		9	3		18	2		1	1					2	
BALKIE, ANDREW	ORC	18		7	17	2					3			2			1			1						2	
BEWS, WILLIAM	ORC	14		10	15	5																	6				
INGSTER, GEORGE	ORC	15		8	9	6					2																
SCARTH, WILLIAM	ORC	15		8	9	1		1			3			1		2	2			1		1					1
TRADESMEN																											
INGSTER, JAMES	ORC	35		15	25	13		1			1	10		17*	10*	4				3*							2
ANDERSON, JAMES	ORC	28		15	25	14					3		14	3													
JUNIOR LABOURER																											
CUMMINS, JOHN	ORC	18		4	4	1					3	1	2							2	1					3	
ISBISTER, JOHN	ORC	18		7	7	1				1	2			2							2					2	
BALLENDINE, JOHN	ORC	8		4	8	1								2			1			1						1	
MONUMIRE, GEORGE	C B	8		4	14	1					3			4			1			1			1			2	
BELHUMIRE	F CAN	0		1	4	1					1			1													
KIPLING, JOHN RAM	C B	0		6	16	6					2																
KIPLING, PEASE TOM	C B	0		4	14	4		2			5	1		2			14	1		1					2	2	1

Table 23 The 1811-12 Work Hierarchy (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/18b)

NAME	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I1	I3	I4	I5	I6	I7	J1	J2	J4	J5	J6	K2	K4	K6	K7	K10	L6	L8
HIERARCHY 1811-12																									
MASTER																									
KENNEDY, ALEX	ORC	50		?	?	2		1	7				1												
ASSISTANT																									
MCKAY, JOHN RICHARDS	C B	8		4	14	4							2												
SENIOR LABOURER																									
YORSTON, WILLIAM	ORC	35		16	16	14			6	1		1*													
LYONS, JOHN	C B	30		15	20	15							2*			1	2		1*			2			1
FAVELL, THOMAS	C B	30		19	23	11			2										2	1	2				
FAVELL, HUMPHREY	C B	25		10	14	9							3										1		
JOLLYCOEUR, LOUIS	F CAN	28		20	22	17																		1	
MASON, THOMAS	ORC	25		11	14	7					2		2	1											
SETTER, GEORGE	ORC	18		6	15	4					1											1			
EASTER, JOHN	NAT	10		27	37	19										2			5		3				
SHORT, JAMES	ORC	28		21	31	12																			
SINCLAIR, WILLIAM	ORC	16		9	10	2					1								1						
BEWS, WILLIAM	ORC	14		11	15	6																			
TRADESMEN																									
INGSTER, JAMES	ORC	35		16	25	14				1				18		8	9	1			1	2			1
ANDERSON, JAMES	ORC	28		16	25	15					1		1		8			1							
JUNIOR LABOURER																									
MONUNIER, FRANCOIS	C B	15		5	14	2																			
CHRISTIAN, JOHN	ORC	?		4	5	3																			
MONUNIER, GERMAINE	C B	15		4	14	2																			
FAVELL, JOHN	C B	8		2	9	2							1												
ISBISTER, JOHN	ORC	18		2	7	2							1	2											
KIPLING, PEASE TOM	C B	15		5	14	5													2						
KIPLING, JOHN RAM	C B	20		7	10	7							1												

Table 24 The 1812-13 Work Hierarchy (HBCA, PAM, B.22/d/3)

NAME	B	C	D	E	F	G
HIERARCHY 1812-13						
MASTER						
FIDLER, PETER	ENGL	100		?	?	1
ASSISTANT						
MCKAY, JOHN RICHARDS	C B	30		5	14	5
FIDLER, THOMAS	C B	25		1	8	1
SENIOR LABOURER						
LYONS, JOHN	C B	30		16	20	16
FAVELL, THOMAS	C B	30		20	23	12
MASON, THOMAS	ORC	25		13	14	8
SHORT, JAMES	ORC	28		22	31	13
JOLLYCOEUR, LOUIS	F CAN	28		21	22	18
FAVELL, HUMPHREY	C B	25		11	14	10
EASTER, JOHN	NAT	20		28	37	20
SETTER, GEORGE	ORC	18		7	15	5
SINCLAIR, WILLIAM	ORC	25		10	10	3
MONJUNIER, FRANCOIS	C B	15		6	14	3
TRADESMEN						
INKSTER, JAMES	ORC	40		17	25	15
ANDERSON, JAMES	ORC	28		17	25	16
JUNIOR LABOURER						
CHRISTAIN, JAMES	ORC	20		5	5	4
MONJUNIER, GERMAINE	C B	15		5	14	3
CRAGIE, HUGH	ORC	16		3	3	3
FAVELL, JOHN	C B	8		3	9	3
ISBISTER, JOHN	ORC	18		2	3	1
KIPLING, PEASK TOM	C B	15		6	14	6
FIDLER, CHARLES	C B	10		1	10	1
HENDERSON, PETER	ORC	20		1	9	1
CORRIGAL, WILLIAM	ORC	23				
LOUTITT, M	ORC	27				1
SINCLAIR, J	ORC	15				1

Table 25 The 1813-14 Work Hierarchy (HBCA, PAM, B.22/d/4)

NAME	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	CAPACITY
HIERARCHY 1813-14								
OFFICER								
FIDLER, PETER	ENGL	100		?	?	2		MASTER
MCKAY, JOHN RICHARDS	C B	30		6	14	6		TRADER
MCKENZIE, ROD	ENGL?	30		?	?	1		TRADER
SITTT, JOHN	A CAN	50		7	10	3		TRADER
MCLEOD, JOHN	ENGL?	40		?	?	1		TRADER
SUTHERLAND, DONALD	SCOT	50		7	10	3		TRADER
FIDLER, THOMAS	C B	25		2	8	2		STEERSMAN
SENIOR LABOURER								
LYONS, JOHN	C B	30		17	20	17		STEERSMAN
FAVELL, THOMAS	C B	30		21	23	13		STEERSMAN
KIPLING, J	C B	28		20	27	4		STEERSMAN
EASTER, JOHN	NAT	20		29	37	21		STEERSMAN
FAVELL, HUMPHREY	C B	26		12	14	11		LABOURER
SETTER, GEORGE	ORC	26		8	15	6		BOWSMAN
JOLLYCOEUR, LOUIS	F CAN	28		22	22	19		LABOURER
SHORT, JAMES	ORC	28		23	31	14		BOWSMAN
MASON, THOMAS	ORC	28		14	14	9		LABOURER
MONJUNIER, FRANCOIS	C B	25		7	14	4		LABOURER
MONJUNIER, GERMAINE	C B	15		6	14	4		LABOURER
TRADESMEN								
CLOUSTON, ROBERT	ORC	30		1	8	1		BLACKSMITH
INKSTER, JAMES	ORC	40		18	25	16		CARPENTER
ANDERSON, JAMES	ORC	28		18	25	17		TAILOR
JUNIOR LABOURER								
MCDONALD, ANGUS	A CAN	25		5	6	3		LABOURER
BROWN, WILLIAM	SCOT?	25		4	4	1		
FAVELL, JOHN	C B	8		4	9	4		LABOURER
KIPLING, JOHN	C B	12		4	9	3		LABOURER
BELHUMURE, MICHAEL	F CAN	25		3	3	2		LABOURER
FRAISER, WILLIAM	SCOT	18		3	3	1		LABOURER
GARDINER, JAMES	IRE	15		3	5	1		LABOURER
HENDERSON, PETER	ORC	20		3	9	2		LABOURER
KIPLING, JOHN RAM	C B	26		8	10	8		STEERSMAN
KIPLING, PEASK TOM	C B	15		7	14	7		LABOURER
KIPLING, WILLIAM	C B?	12		3	3	3		
FIDLER, CHARLES	C B	10		2	10	2		LABOURER
FORBES, JOHN	IRE	20		2	8	1		LABOURER
GILLIGAN, BRIAN	IRE	20		2	4	1		LABOURER
KELLY, MICHAEL	IRE	20		2	3	1		LABOURER
MINIE, MICHAEL	F CAN	25		2	3	2		
PANGEMAN, BOSTONAIS	C B	25		2	3	2		
SINCLAIR, WILLIAM	ORC	25		2	9	1		LABOURER
TYMAN, ANDREW	IRE	20		2	2	1		LABOURER
URIE, JAMES	SCOT	25		2	3	1		LABOURER
BAPTISTE, JOHN	C B							LABOURER
MCDERMID, THOMAS	SCOT	20						LABOURER
[illegible]	?	20						LABOURER

Table 26 The 1814-15 Work Hierarchy (HBCA, PAM, B.22/d/5)

NAME	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	CAPACITY
HIERARCHY 1814-15								
OFFICER								
FIDLER, PETER	ENGL	100			?	?	3	MASTER
MCKAY, JOHN RICHARDS	C B	30			7	14	7	TRADER
MCKENZIE, ROD	ENGL?	30			?	?	2	TRADER
SITIT, JOHN	A CAN	50			7	10	3	TRADER
MCLEOD, JOHN	ENGL?	50					2	TRADER
SUTHERLAND, DONALD	SCOT	50					2	TRADER
FIDLER, THOMAS	C B	25			3	8	3	
SENIOR LABOURER								
LYONS, JOHN	C B	30			18	20	18	STEERSMAN
FAVELL, THOMAS	C B	30			22	23	14	STEERSMAN
KIPLING, JOHN	C B	15			21	27	5	STEERSMAN
EASTER, JOHN	NAT	20			30	37	22	STEERSMAN
FAVELL, HUMPHREY	C B	26			13	14	12	LABOURER
SETTER, GEORGE	ORC	26			9	15	7	BOWSMAN
SHORT, JAMES	ORC	20			24	31	15	LABOURER
MONJUNIER, FRANCOIS	C B	25			8	14	5	LABOURER
MONJUNIER, GERMAINE	C B	15			7	14	5	LABOURER
MCDONALD, ANGUS	A CAN	25			6	6	4	LABOURER
TRADESMEN								
CLOUSTON, ROBERT	ORC	30			2	8	2	BLACKSMITH
INKSTER, JAMES	ORC	40			19	25	17	CARPENTER
ANDERSON, JAMES	ORC	25			19	25	18	TAILOR
JUNIOR LABOURER								
FAVELL, JOHN	C B	15			5	9	5	LABOURER
KIPLING, JOHN	C B	15			5	9	4	LABOURER
GARDINER, JAMES	IRE	20			4	5	2	
HENDERSON, PETER	ORC	20			4	9	3	
KIPLING, JOHN RAM	C B	26			4	10	9	STEERSMAN
KIPLING, PEASK TOM	C B	20			4	14	8	LABOURER
FIDLER, CHARLES	C B	10			3	10	3	LABOURER
FORBES, JOHN	IRE	20			3	8	1	
GILLIGAN, BRIAN	IRE	20			3	4	2	
KELLY, MICHAEL	IRE	20			3	3	2	LABOURER
KILCOOL, MICHAEL	IRE	20			3	9	1	LABOURER
SINCLAIR, WILLIAM	ORC	25			3	9	2	LABOURER
MAHONEY, JOHN	IRE	20			1	1	1	LABOURER
MCINTYRE, JOHN	SCOT	20			1	1	1	LABOURER
KIPLING, THOMAS	C B	5			?	?	2	LABOURER

Table 27 The 1815-16 Work Hierarchy (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/19)

NAME	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I1	I3	I5	I7	J1	J2	J3	J4	J5	K1	K2	K4	L4	L6
HIERARCHY 1815-16																					
OFFICER																					
FIDLER, PETER	ENGL	100		?	?	4		1													
SUTHERLAND,		50		?	?	?		1													
MCKAY, JOHN RICHARDS	C B	45		8	14	8															
FIDLER, THOMAS	C B	25		4	8	4			1	3	2	1									
SENIOR LABOURER																					
LYONS, JOHN	C B	30		19	20	19					1	1						2*			1
SETTER, GEORGE	ORC	30		10	15	8					2										
FAVELL, THOMAS	C B	25		23	23	15				2*	2	4			1		1	1		1*	
FAVELL, HUMPHREY	C B	25		14	14	13					1*										
KIPLING, JOHN	C B	15		22	27	6															
FAVELL, JOHN	C B	15		6	9	6					3										
TRADESMEN																					
CLORSTON, ROBERT	ORC	30		3	8	3				1	1	1		12							
INKSTER, JAMES	ORC	40		20	25	18						12			5	7					2
ANDERSON, JAMES	ORC	20		20	25	19					1*		2							1	
PAPIN, PIERRE	F CAN	18?		1	9	1								8							
JUNIOR LABOURER																					
HENDERSON, PETER	ORC	22		5	9	4					5									1	1
KIPLING, THOMAS	C B	20		5	18	9					10										1
FIDLER, CHARLES	C B	25		4	10	4					3	5			3	7	1	3	1		
KILKENNY, MICHAEL	IRE	23		4	6	1					1										1
CUNNINGHAM RICHARD	IRE	20		3	5	1					5										1
KIRKNESS, JAMES	ORC	20		3	8	1					2										
DELHAMP, FRANCOIS	F CAN	20		1	1	1					2										

Table 28. The 1816-17 Work Hierarchy (HBCA, PAM, B.63/f/1)

NAME	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
HIERARCHY 1816-17							
OFFICER							
FIDLER, PETER	ENGL	100		?	?	5	
MCKAY, JOHN RICHARDS	C B	45		9	14	9	
FIDLER, THOMAS	C B	25		5	8	5	
SENIOR LABOURER							
SEITER, GEORGE	ORC	30		11	15	9	
MONJUNIE, FRANCOIS	C B	30		10	14	7	
EASTER, JOHN	NAT	25		32	37	23	
SHORT, JAMES	ORC	20		26	31	17	
KIPLING, JOHN RAM	C B	26		7	20	6	
KIPLING, PEASK TOM	C B	20		6	18	10	
KIPLING, JOHN	C B	15		23	27	7	
KIPLING, J	C B	12		7	10	5	
MONJUNIE, GERMAINE	C B	20		8	14	6	
FAVELL, JOHN	C B	15		7	9	7	
TRADESMEN							
INKSTER, JAMES	ORC	40		21	25	19	
ANDERSON, JAMES	ORC	20		21	25	20	
JUNIOR LABOURER							
BRIMMER, ALEX	SCOT	25		5	9	2	
FIDLER, CHARLES	C B	25		5	10	5	
FLETT, THOMAS	ORC	24		5	6	1	
HENDERSON, PETER	ORC	22		5	9	4	
KILCOOL, MICHAEL	IRE	22		5	9	1	
ROSS, JOHN	ORC	22		5	8	1	
SINCLAIR, WILLIAM	ORC	25		5	9	2	
FORBES, JOHN	IRE	20		4	8	4	
FRAISER, HUGH	SCOT	30		4	8	2	
GUN, BEN	SCOT	22		4	8	2	
KIRKNESS, THOMAS	ORC	20		4	8	2	
MCDONALD, DONALD	SCOT	25		4	8	2	

Table 29 The 1817-18 Work Hierarchy (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/20)

NAME	B	C	D	E	F	G
HIERARCHY 1817-18						
OFFICER						
FIDLER, PETER	ENGL	100		?	?	5
GADDY, JAMES	ORC	40		?	?	2
MCKAY, JOHN RICHARDS	C B	45		10	14	10
FIDLER, THOMAS	C B	25		6	8	6
SETTER, GEORGE	ORC	30		12	15	10
SENIOR LABOURER						
MONJUNIER, FRANCOIS	C B	30		11	14	8
KIPLING, PEASK TOM	C B	25		11	18	11
FIDLER, CHARLES	C B	25		6	10	6
EASTER, JOHN	NAT	25		33	37	24
FAVELL, JOHN	C B	20		8	11	8
FOLSTER, JAMES	ORC	22		11	11	4
KIPLING, JOHN	C B	15		24	27	8
SHORT, JAMES	ORC	20		27	31	18
SINCLAIR, WILLIAM	ORC	25		6	9	5
MONJUNIE, GERMAINE	C B	20		9	14	7
FLEIT, THOMAS	ORC	24		6	6	2
HENDERSON, PETER	ORC	22		6	9	5
FOLSTER, JAMES	ORC	22		6	8	2
TRADESMEN						
INKSTER, JAMES	ORC	40		22	25	20
CLOUSTON, RICHARD	ORC	35		5	8	3
PAPIN, PEIRRE	F CAN	18		6	9	2
ANDERSON, JAMES	ORC	20		22	25	21
JUNIOR LABOURER						
FORBES, JOHN	IRE	25		5	8	5
FRAISER, HUGH	SCOT	26		5	8	3
GUN, BEN	ORC	22		5	8	3
HAYWOOD, JOHN	ENGL	28		5	9	1
REINE, MICHAEL	F CAN	18		3	6	1
DEMARAIS, LOUIS	F CAN	24		2	3	1
LAMBERE, MICHAEL	F CAN	16		2	4	1
MARCEAU, LOUIS	F CAN	16		1	4	1

Table 30 The 1818-19 Work Hierarchy (HBCA, PAM, B.22/a/21)

NAME	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
HIERARCHY 1818-19							
OFFICER							
FIDLER, PETER	ENGL	100		?	?	6	
MCKAY, JOHN RICHARDS	C B	50		11	14	11	
FIDLER, THOMAS	C B	25		7	8	7	
SETTER, GEORGE	ORC	30		13	15	11	
SENIOR LABOURER							
MONJUNIE, FRANCOIS	C B	30		12	14	9	
HAYWOOD, JOHN	ENGL	28		6	9	2	
KIPLING, JOHN RAM	C B	26		9	20	7	
FRAISER, HUGH	SCOT	26		6	8	4	
EASTER, JOHN	NAT	25		34	37	25	
KIPLING, PEASK TOM	C B	25		8	18	12	
FIDLER, CHARLES	C B	25		7	10	7	
FORBES, JOHN	IRE	25		6	8	6	
MCDONALD, DONALD	SCOT	25		6	8	3	
SINCLAIR, WILLIAM	ORC	25		7	9	6	
FAVEL, JOHN	C B	22		9	11	9	
GUN, BEN	ORC	22		6	8	4	
HENDERSON, PETER	ORC	22		7	9	6	
KILCOOL, MICHAEL	IRE	22		7	9	2	
SHORT, JAMES	ORC	20		28	31	19	
FOLSTER, JOHN	ORC	17		7	8	3	
KIPLING, JOHN	C B	15		25	27	9	
MONJUNIE, GERMAINE	C B	12		10	14	8	
TRADESMEN							
INKSTER, JAMES	ORC	40		23	25	21	
HALESS, THOMAS	ORC	31		1	3	1	
PAPIN, PIERRE	F CAN	18		7	10	2	
ANDERSON, JAMES	ORC	20		23	25	22	
ROSS, ALEX	ORC	15		1	3	1	
JUNIOR LABOURER							
MCAULY, ANGUS	SCOT	20		4	6	2	
DEMARAIS, LOUIS	F CAN	24		3	3	2	
LAMBERE, MICHAEL	F CAN	20		3	4	2	
MURRY, FINLAY	SCOT	20		3	5	1	
SPENCE, ANDREW	ORC	20		3	5	2	
MARCEAU, LOUIS	F CAN	14		2	4	2	
PEACE, PETER	SCOT	20		1	3	1	
AIRD, GUSTOVOUS	SCOT	15		1	3	1	
ROSS, HUGH	SCOT	15		1	3	1	
KIPLING, TOM	C B	12		3	3	3	
LOUNIERE, CHARLES	F CAN	12		1	3	1	

Table 31 The 1819-20 Work Hierarchy (HBCA, PAM, A.16/37)

NAME		B	C	D	E
HIERARCHY 1819-20					
OFFICER					
FIDLER, PETER	ENGL	100	?	?	7
MCKAY, JOHN RICHARDS	C B	50	12	14	12
SETTER, GEORGE	ORC	35	14	15	12
FIDLER, THOMAS	C B	25	8	9	8
FIDLER, CHARLES	C B	25	8	10	8
SENIOR LABOURER					
MONJUNIE, FRANCOIS	C B	30	13	14	10
KIPLING, PEASK TOM	C B	30	9	18	13
EASTER, JOHN	NAT	30	35	37	26
KIPLING, JOHN RAM	C B	28	10	20	8
SINCLAIR, WILLIAM	ORC	28	8	9	7
HAYWOOD, JOHN	ENGL	28	7	9	3
FRAISER, HUGH	SCOT	26	7	8	5
MCDONALD, DONALD	SCOT	25	7	8	4
FAVEL, JOHN	C B	22	10	11	10
HENDERSON, PETER	ORC	22	8	9	7
KILCOOL, MICHAEL	IRE	22	8	9	3
SHORT, JAMES	ORC	20	29	31	20
MONJUNIER, GERMAINE	C B	20	11	14	9
FOLSTER, JOHN	ORC	16	8	8	4
KIPLING, JOHN	C B	15	26	27	10
KIPLING, JOHN	C B	10	8	9	8
TRADESMEN					
INKSTER, JAMES	ORC	40	24	25	22
HALESS, THOMAS	ORC	35	2	3	2
ANDERSON, JAMES	ORC	20	24	25	23
ROSS, ALEX	SCOT	15	2	3	2
JUNIOR LABOURER					
SETTER, ANDREW	ORC	28	5	6	1
MATHESON, DONALD	SCOT	20	5	6	1
MCAULY, ANGUS	SCOT	20	5	6	3
REINE, MICHAEL	F CAN	20	5	6	2
LAMBERE, MICHAEL	F CAN	20	4	4	3
MURRY, FINLAY	SCOT	20	4	5	2
SPENCE, ANDREW	SCOT	20	4	5	3
JOHNSON, JOHN	SCOT	15	4	5	1
MARCEAU, LOUIS	F CAN	14	3	4	3
PEACE, PETER	SCOT	20	2	3	2
AIRD, GUSTOVOUS	SCOT	15	2	3	2
LAUNIERE, CHARLES	F CAN	12	2	3	2
KIPLING, GEORGE	C B	6	1	2	1
HENDERSON, SAMUEL	ORC	22			
KIPLING, TOM	C B	12			

Table 32 The 1820-21 Work Hierarchy (HBCA, PAM, A.16/37)

NAME	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
HIERARCHY 1820-21							
OFFICER							
MCKAY, JOHN RICHARDS	C B		50		13	14	13
SETTER, GEORGE	ORC		35		15	15	13
FIDLER, THOMAS	C B		25		9	9	9
SENIOR LABOURER							
MONJUNIE, FRANCOIS	C B		30		14	14	11
SETTER, ANDREW	ORC		30		6	6	2
SINCLAIR, WILLIAM	ORC		30		9	9	8
KIPLING, JOHN RAM	C B		28		11	20	9
MCAULY, ANGUS	SCOT		23		6	6	5
FAVEL, JOHN	C B		22		11	11	11
HENDERSON, PETER	ORC		22		9	9	8
SHORT, JAMES	ORC		20		30	31	21
MONJUNIE, GERMAINE	C B		20		12	14	10
KILCOOL, MICHAEL	IRE		20		9	9	4
FORBES, JOHN	IRE		20		8	8	4
KIPLING, JOHN	C B		15		27	27	11
REINE, MICHAEL	F CAN		10		6	6	3
TRADESMEN							
INKSTER, JAMES	ORC		40		25	25	23
ANDERSON, JAMES	ORC		20		25	25	23
ROSS, ALEX	SCOT		15		3	3	3
JUNIOR LABOURER							
JOHNSON, JOHN	ORC		15		5	5	2
SPENCE, ANDREW	ORC		20		5	5	4
MARCEAU, LOUIS	F CAN		20		4	4	4
KIPLING, TOM	C B		18		4	4	4
PEACE, PETER	SCOT		20		3	3	3
LAUNIERE, CHARLES	F CAN		16		3	3	3
AIRD, GUSTOVOUS	SCOT		15		3	3	2
KIPLING, GEORGE	C B		6		2	2	2